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COMPLIMENTARY

PRIMARY
ACHER

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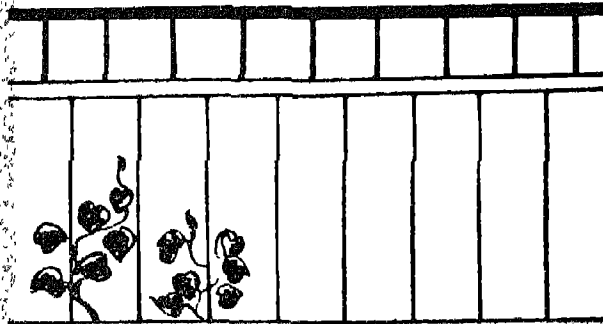
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TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

We invite our readers—the primary teachers—to contribute to this journal profusely. The articles/features, clearly typed out in double space on one side of the paper only, should be sent to the General Editor, *The Primary Teacher*, Journals Cell, NCERT, NIE Campus, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016.

Homework

Some Suggestions

N.N PRAHALLADA

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ANY WORK that is done by a child at home, if helpful in reinforcing and supplementing what has been studied at school, can be termed as homework It prepares the ground for future learning. Opinions and practices with respect to homework vary widely. Arguments are both for and against giving homework. There are some who vehemently criticize the quantum of homework given in schools, especially in some English-medium schools. Individual parents have complained that excessive homework retards the child's all-round development, arouses rebelliousness, contributes to careless work habits and promotes unwholesome attitudes in children towards school and even towards life.

Whatever may be the criticism, in general, parents approve of homework as a measuring tool to know the progress of their children. Homework, if properly understood, skilfully planned, intelligently assigned and sympathetically checked, will result in meaningful progress.

Objectives of Homework

1. To stimulate independent thinking, emotional stability and self-direction.
2. To develop permanent leisure interests in learning.
3. To enrich school experiences and to make the pupils more responsible.
4. To link the previous and present learning.
5. To reinforce the school learning by further practice and application
6. To encourage students to consult other books, magazines and journals apart from the prescribed textbooks.
7. To help in individualizing instruction

In order to achieve the aforesaid objectives, homework should be properly planned, made useful, interesting, creative and should suit the needs of both fast- and slow-learners. It may be regarded as a continuum; at one end are mechanical exercises required of all students and at the other end are creative projects or experiments undertaken voluntarily by individual pupils.

Able learners in high school say that they like the following kinds of homework: writing reports, finding arguments for both sides of controversial issues, solving prob-

lems, memorizing selections from great literature, using their own ideas, being free to read books of their own choice and conducting experiments with home equipment.

The quality of a student's homework and guided study are affected by a number of conditions. Much depends on whether the curriculum stimulates thinking, evokes creativity and is suited to individual ability and on the teacher's initiative and parental attitude Research evidence indicates that the students will study more effectively, other things being equal, if they are interested, and if they see its value The roles of perception and satisfaction in reinforcing learning have been demonstrated repeatedly. Students will attack a study problem more effectively if their previous experience in similar learning situations has been rewarding. From this standpoint, the student may find it more efficient to begin homework with the easier problems and work up to the more difficult ones, rather than follow the common recommendation to tackle the most difficult task first.

In most of the Indian schools homework is mostly written without any novelty As a result, in many cases homework is done by parents rather than by the children themselves That is the reason why to most pupils homework is not a challenge but a burden Those who travel long distances to schools and back find no time to do homework. They are tired and fatigue prevents their concentration. "When excessive tension and pressures are associated with homework, it may affect mental health; conscientious students may become depressed and anxious; conflicts may arise between parents and children."

Some Suggestions

To make homework a pleasant exercise the headmaster should take full responsibility for guiding the teacher to turn out quality homework from the students. This is possible only when there is crystal-clear understanding between the headmaster and his colleagues. The parents' cooperation is highly valued in this regard. The following suggestions, if implemented, will go a long way in making homework a pleasant exercise :

1. More school time should be devoted to the guidance of meaningful learning.
2. Homework should be properly organized to provide novelty so that the child learns to solve new problems with the help of the knowledge gained in the classroom.
3. Students should be encouraged to do more reading and studying of the kind that will have continuing value in later life
4. Students should be given more freedom and choice in the matter of what and how and when and with whom to study
5. As far as possible students should be asked to keep a minimum number of pages in notebooks for various subjects to avoid wastage of paper. Thick plastic paper can be used to write/draw the outline of map and geometrical figures, which can be erased to draw new diagrams on the same plastic paper. This will certainly help to prevent wastage of paper, especially in today's context of paper scarcity.

6 Instead of writing homework in note-books teachers can encourage children to write homework on loose sheets and these sheets can be lodged safely in a file. This will help teacher to evaluate homework easily and inspecting officers can inspect a child's homework in all subjects maintained in a single file This is also easy for children to carry home.

7 Homework should be more individualized, meaningful, and useful, and approval should be accorded to homework that is well planned and successfully completed.

8. While giving homework, teachers should think and visualize clearly the quantum of work and boredom of students and the assignment should bring thrill and joy

9. For fast- and slow-learners home assignments should be given according to their ability and capacity

Lastly it may be said that unless homework is made a pleasant exercise there is every possibility that it may become oppressive and it may inflict incalculable moral, intellectual and physical injury on the pupils.

□

The School Perception

M. P Bhasin
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How students learn in school, how they achieve, and particularly how they behave is, to a remarkable degree, a function of school perception—how students view the school, what they expect of it, and how they deal with it. School perceptions show in school behaviour when a student greets a new venture in school with defiance or hates the school for no apparent reason. Students have been known to improve in their adjustive behaviours and learning skills merely on the basis of knowing that school is concerned about their perceptions and considers them as an integral part of school learning. Certainly school perception constitutes an important facet of learning process other than an individual's learning ability and learning milieu Really understaning school perception leads to the school's acceptance of students and their acceptance of the school

School Perception Defined

Experience attests the fact that students inevitably and necessarily make judgments about the school Such judgments not only involve school as a physical plant—attractive or unattractive—but primarily concern the impressions the students form of the school as the headmaster and teachers—democratic or dominating—, class activities—interesting or uninteresting— and, above all, school as an academic return—feeling of academic success or failure. The assumption appears to be that a student consistently interacting with the school becomes psychologically aware of the total atmosphere of the school, receives information from the school world which modifies his experience and behaviour in school situations. The school perception thus depends upon the impressions the school forms upon the students, and involves the judgments the students make of the school.

Defferent School Perceptions

Diffierent students perceive school differently because perception embraces perceiver's needs, attitudes and values and other experiences, acting selectively about the aspects of the school, and his perception of the objec-

tive characteristics of the school. A student with a strong need for achievement appears to be more sensitive to student activities related to striving and accomplishment than the one without it. Anything which is consistent with his value system will be perceived positively and if not consistent with his value system negatively. A student whose value system related to the teacher is perceived as harsh will behave differently from the student who perceives the teacher as kind Similarly, a student perceives the teacher's behaviour as rude depending upon what he is accustomed to perceive as constituting polite and rude behaviour. What appears rude to one student might appear to be quite normal to another student.

Area of School Perception

1 *Perception of physical milieu of the school* · Physical milieu, comprising a well-designed spacious building with a well-equipped library, a laboratory and play facilities itself, is full of predisposing stimuli selected to make interpretation about the school. A delinquent poor perception of school has its roots in school's unfortunate physical milieu causing him to become a drop-out case Higher the milieu, the greater degree of student commitment to school, satisfaction with school life and conformity with the teacher's expectation Also, higher the milieu, the greater is the tendency of students within the peer group to be associated with academic values. In the lower milieu by contrast, the academically oriented students are deviant from the group norm, conforming to delinquent culture

2 *Perception of personality characteristics of administrators and teachers* . The perception of personality characteristics is influenced by the kinds of traits the students tend to associate with teachers in related patterns Traits such as kindliness, patience, and fairness, etc valued by students reflect characteristics of teacher behaviour that assist students to succeed and to be resonably satisfied in schools. Students tend to perceive positively those behaviours which are most desirable to them as students A teacher whose interaction with students is largely characterized by punitive relationship is likely to be negatively perceived Teacher's behaviour is viewed as justified when he acts in ways consistent with students' expectations, and in so far as they trust teacher intention If they believe that the teacher is working for their best interests and is not arbitrary in his decision, they are likely to perceive him positively. What is true for a teacher is also true for an administrator

3. *Perception of teaching-learning activities:* The class, in which students organize their own projects and the teacher is a continued source of information and inspiration, is much more preferred than a class where a continual state of conflict exists between teacher and students Teacher behaviour in a given set of class procedures induces similar kind of student behaviour and perception of learning activities Expressions of hostility and dislike are more common in a teacher-centred class whereas in a student-centred class students learn more, become more responsible and more perception-change takes place. However, perception of particular teaching style and teaching method vary according to student's own personality A student characterized by a high drive of academic achievement values student-centred approach and a student with high authoritarian need perceives unhappiness in such an approach.

4. Perception of academic achievement: Academic achievement is related to the amount of interest a student takes in school work. Achievement-oriented student with high value system related to academic achievement is motivated in many different but related ways. He is working for higher academic marks, doing extra assignments, and working to the entire satisfaction of his teachers. A student with low academic motivation is less likely to be motivated in this way. A student whose achievement level is below the level of his aspiration becomes discouraged and sets lower goal or puts forth even greater efforts because he perceives his poor achievement as a challenge. Meaningless courses, monotonous teaching methods, lack of command of subject-matter by the teachers are some of the factors contributing negative perception of academic achievement. Academic achievement is also associated with parental perceptions and behaviour. Middle or high status parents are more concerned about the progress of their children at school than the low status parents.

Teacher Perception of Students

Teachers come in direct contact with students and as such are engaged in making continued judgments of their students. Such judgements not only involve academic performance and intellectual functioning but primarily concern the impressions the teachers form of interpersonal relationship, and emotional and environmental characteristics of students. A student is perceived as well-mannered or ill-mannered depending upon his behaviour consistent with teacher's expectancies. If he conforms to these expectancies he is likely to be perceived positively but if he falls short of these expectancies he is likely to be perceived negatively. Many teachers perceive boys more difficult to manage, less motivated by school and more troublesome to deal with. Girls are perceived more affectionate, obedient, and more responsible than boys. In all cases more positive the teacher's perception of their students' personality characteristics, the more desirable is the teacher behaviour as perceived by the students. Students learn more, improve more in personal adjustment when their teachers possess great deal of information about them as students. Hence teachers' perceptions can be utilized in planning learning milieu and goals likely to motivate student behaviour.

Relationship of School Perception

The school includes totality of experiences a student perceives through manifold activities that go on in the school. In some schools the students look forward to complete academic education, in others they seek to escape. Experiences in higher school milieu perceived positively are contributory to academic achievement. Lower school milieu lacking enough variety and elasticity to allow for individual differences and adaptation to individual needs and interests is likely to be negatively perceived affecting academic achievement adversely. High achievers are highly motivated by school and as such perceive school highly. By and large, the perceptions of low-achievers indicate a low level of school motivation. School perception is essentially a matter of judging the school in which one's intelligence plays a significant role. Highly intelligent students having potentials of pursuing complicated academic school life perceive school highly.

Unlike highly intelligent students, a student with low level of intelligence shows less satisfaction and more frustration in school situations, tends to show low school perception.

An individual perceives environmental circumstances in relation to himself The lower the opinion he has for himself, the lower the opinion he has for others. A student with low self-concept perceives school too demanding for him and as such fails to achieve it The failure serves him unworthy of himself and he displays low perception of the school. Contrary to this a student with high self-concept with his high degree of self-esteem is ready to meet school challenges, tends to perceive school highly. A person's social status significantly influences his perception of environment around him. High or middle class students with educationally better environment at home show typical attitudes of pleasing teachers and of doing the work assigned, tend to perceive school equally well Low status students surrounded by defeat and despair are less amenable to working for the delayed satisfactions which the school promises, tend to have low perception of school. Because of both biological and cultural forces girls apparently show more school inclination than boys.

Education is a human process, school's most important influence is the teacher. Not only are students aware of teacher's perceptions of attachment, concern, and rejection about them, their perceptions are coloured how they are dealt with by the teachers. Although teachers in general perceive their students equally well, female teachers, as in case of girls' favourable perception of school, have more favourable perceptions of girls than what male teachers have of boys Teachers' favourable perceptions of students lead to students' favourable perceptions of teachers in general and of school in particular.

How to Measure School Perception and Teacher Perception ?

Learning milieu planned in terms of school perception and teacher perception makes measurable differences in the rate and direction of student learning and growth and adjustment. Good teachers characteristically relate school perception and teacher perception with learning milieu. As such they need some instruments to measure school perception and teacher perception. Tools developed by the authors are discussed in brief

School preception projective test (*SPPT*) : This test comprised line-drawing pictures covering four main areas of school perception The following four questions were planned to be answered by the students .

1 What do you see in this picture ?
2 What are the persons ? What are they doing ?
3, How do you like them behaving like that ?
4. Why are they behaving like that ?

Pictures were projected through epidiascope each for thirty seconds and five minutes were given for its description. Pictures were scored in the light of the following four scoring categories with their scoring values shown within brackets :

1. Whether school or academic situation is perceived (2, 1 and 0)
2. How much interest is shown in this picture (3, 2 and 1)

3. Whether perception is positive or negative (4, 3, 2 and 1)
4. Overall perceptual impression of the picture (1 and 0)

Ten pictures were finally selected areawise The test-retest reliability of SPPT was 939 and its convergent validity with school perception scale .512

School perception scale (*SPS*). Scale covering four main areas of school perception was of statement form. Each item carried four different responses arranged in order of numerical values 4, 3, 2 and 1 indicating high positive perception, positive perception, negative perception and high negative perception. The subject was required to cross one of the four different responses that appealed him the most. Items finally selected area-wise were 25. The test-retest reliability of SPS was 849 and its convergent validity with SSPT .512.

Teacher perception scale (*TPS*) Form and scoring procedures of TPS were similar to that of SPS Items of TPS concerned students' work habits, study skills, general conduct, personal liking, prodding, acceptance by other students, acceptance by other teachers, study objectives and their realization, emotional balance and thinking ability. The test-retest reliability of TPS was .873 and its content validity was determined through group interview programmes with senior teachers and headmasters □

Teacher Education and Promotion of International Understanding

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Visva-Kutir, Seemantapalli, Santiniketan

TEACHER EDUCATION and promotion of international understanding first of all should presuppose teaching education in a changing world. The changing world today is full of explosions and most of these explosions have been created and accelerated by the second world war. Thus the explosion of expectations have led to a concerted attack upon poverty, imperialism and ignorance, and it is the very explosion of population that has made the above task all the more formidable, and to these quantitative problems may be added the qualitative problems created by the explosion of knowledge. Suffice it to say that the so-called simple literacy, the knowledge of the three R's, is now as outmoded as the horse and buggy in the jet aircraft age. Truely, all these explosions have created problems for educators all over the world, for the second world war left its trail of destruction and damage in both the developed and developing countries and brought about social, economic and political changes. So new outlooks are now needed to meet the new changes and new situation.

To be more precise, what is primarily needed today is cultural rehabilitation in place of cultural devastation. Now, who can be entrusted with this most pressing task ? History has shown that our failures in the past in ensuring promotion for international understanding have been largely due to the fact that we have not been able to utilize adequately the great resources of education, science, culture and modern means of propaganda for this end and have relied too much on purely political or economic approach usually inspired by fear or temporary expediency We have forgotten that the educational and socio-economic factors need to be harmonized for having cultural rehabilitation, which means building the structure of international understanding And as the building up of this mutual understanding on a national or an international scale can, I believe, be best achieved through educational approach teacher education should be viewed in the context of this present-day situation. Here we

should remember that when we speak of education, we are not thinking merely of what goes on in schools and colleges but of the wider network of those formative influences which affect the ideas, feelings and opinions of the people such as the press, the platform, books, radio, theatre, cinema, religious services, and all the various means for the diffusion of ideas which appeal to emotions and intellection.

The Ideal Teacher

Keeping the above background in view, let us consider the requisites of the ideal teacher who can create these formative influences and diffuse them. Here the major dichotomy is between the concept of the teacher as a mediator or conserver and as an agent of change in a dynamic society. Again, from the point of content of teacher training courses we find that the subject-matter emphasis and the professional subject emphasis are in conflict almost everywhere. Moreover, although the secular and religious traditions in education have never been entirely separate, yet they offer no less significant a problem even today. Lastly, coming down to the present age we see that in the complicated structure of our modern civilization, the teacher holds an equivocal position By one set of value judgements he ranks no higher than a bus driver, the sanitary inspector or the plumber. Like the teacher or the teacher-educator they too are all helping to maintain the fabric of society But at the same time he is expected to have a much higher standard in relation to his public and private life, his moral and religious views and in his general bearing before the public eye.

Moreover, in addition to his standing as a human being he must have teaching ability and be educated, in the broad sense As a matter of fact, these three desirable qualities in the ideal teacher are closely interdependent and each affects the other. Be that as it may, the teacher must retain always a degree of moral authority Truely in the present context he is imperceptibly assuming a new role. Teachers are, now a days, called upon to solve the problems of personal relations between parent and child and sometimes between husband and wife ! This, a generation ago, would have been referred to the parish priest. This shows which way the wind blows. As a matter of fact, the teacher is now becoming a social worker His business is now to release the flow of human understanding, be his training long or short and his education broad or narrow. In fine, his quality as a human being should never be lost sight of Now let us see how teachers and teacher-educators as social workers can help directly in creating a mentality for international understanding and strengthen the forces that make for a more just, more rational and more peaceful and more cooperative social order.

Promotion of International Understanding through History Teaching

Coming to the school proper, trained teachers may take advantage of numerous opportunities for promotion of international understanding. But I shall give only one example, namely, the teaching of history that can exercise a greater influence on the minds of the students than any other school subject. Through this powerful medium students can catch a panoramic view of the past and the tortuous course of its develop-

ment, and through it they are enabled to understand something of the complex structure of modern society. Here, the educator should elucidate whether history is a record of wars and dynastic squabbles and large-scale crimes or a study of gradual evolution of arts and industries and other evidences of human skill and efficiency Whether history should seek to extol all that has been done or said in this or that particular country, irrespective of the reaction of these activities on other peoples and other lands or it should apply moral and social criteria in judging the worth of men and their deeds.

Too often in the past, the teaching of history in schools and colleges has been used as an instrument of propaganda for achieving unworthy ends and together with it the cinema, the radio, the press and the platform have profoundly affected psychology of the masses in a particular manner. The very instances of Russia, Germany and Italy during the Second World War are only too recent but by no means novel. The position of India in this respect since the establishment of English education in India repeats the same thing. A number of history textbooks written either by Englishmen or even by some Indians treat the Hindu and Muslim periods with scorn while the blessings of the British Rule find a most prominent place More recently we see that history textbooks are rewritten so as to extol special communities or provinces or groups though there are some exceptions. Thus history textbooks and history teaching require reorientation towards a higher and nobler objective, i.e. it must be understood that in an age when distance has been annihilated and when the interests of all nations are intertwined inextricably, no nation dare live alone. As a matter of fact, national isolation is not possible and even if it were possible, it would not be at all desirable We must either pull together or, literally, perish. In order to save the world from this total annihilation, many social, political and economic plans and policies have no doubt to be devised but the most important of all would be the re-education of people's ideas and emotions, the quiet and persistent working of a revolution in the minds of the children and the youth of the nation. It is in this process, that education as a whole and the teaching of history, in particular, can play a decisive role To achieve this end, school history textbooks should clearly stress the social and cultural aspects of the story of Man and keep the military and political aspects in the background.

Secondly, the entire school teaching, including history teaching, should be so reoriented as to make the students feel the throbbing reality and the vital necessity of international interdependence and understand that with this is linked up the problem of peace. It is useless to send out the citizens of tomorrow from high schools and colleges every year who are adept in all about "old, unhappy, far off things" but have no idea of the main currents shaping and modifying the world around them. Here teacher education can play a vital role, for in order to make education a dynamic activity, teacher education can throw overboard a good deal of useless lumber that clutters the history books and syllabus today and can devise new methods to make the children peace-minded by thinking out many practical ways. It is the bounden duty of teachers and teacher-educators to eradicate the psychological

causes that create a war-like mentality, nay, to alter the material circumstances which form a favourable soil for its growth. And here teachers of science, geography and such other subjects, too, may come forward to elucidate the fact of interdependence and to show that reasonable standards of life can neither be established nor maintained unless there is a rational pooling of resources on an international level They can make the taught understand by the orientation of the entire social, moral and ethical training provided by the schools and colleges through their curricular and co-curricular activities that they have really no moral right to enjoy health, culture or material prosperity as long as other countries are deprived of the same.

This is the lesson of history, and the role of the history teacher, through his day-to-day class teaching, is to diffuse this lesson all over the world. □

Primary School Science Curriculum of Maharashtra

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KNOWLEDGE of general science is essential for creating a proper understanding of things around an individual. The subject provided general education in science to every individual irrespective of his special aptitudes. Science and its applications permit modern life so extensively that every citizen needs knowledge of science for efficient living. General science is, therefore, of everyday service to human beings. In the educational ladder primary education is the most neglected area as many educationists have no touch in the field and research work in primary education is not taken up extensively. Again, it is necessary to know the latest developments in the neighbouring states in the field of education as states in India enjoy autonomy to follow a pattern to suit their needs. At random the curriculum of Maharashtra is chosen for an appraisal Hence this educational endeavour is taken up.

Objectives of Primary Education

The curriculum is designed keeping the following objectives, which are of fundamental nature, in view :

1 Acquisition of adequate mastery over the basic tools of learning.
2. Development of a spirit of inquiry and observation.
3 Development of moral and social values leading to cultured behaviour at home and in the community.
4. Development of habit of clean and healthy living.
5. Active participation in social and cultural activities.
6 Development of the habits of self-reliance and an attitude of respect towards manual work.
7. Acquisition of skill in some socially and educationally useful productive craft.
8. Development of national outlook leading to emotional integration, civic sense and moral responsibility.
9 Interest in and appreciation of fine arts.
10. Development of physical efficiency.

The above objectives aim at total development of the individual child.

Objectives of General Science

The aims of teaching general science at the primary stage are as follows .

1. To provide a general background in science to every individual irrespective of his special aptitudes.
2. To make pupils appreciate the process of living as something common to human beings, animals, birds and plants.
3. To create interest and curiosity in the observation of natural and physical phenomena and their scientific interpretation.
4. To build up scientific habits, attitudes and outlook in the pupils.
5. To take pupils to sufficient depth in progressive stages and to introduce the recent developments in science
6. To guide pupils towards an understanding of the fundamental principles through observation, field trip, demonstration and experiment

This list of objectives gives much emphasis on feeling side and less importance on skill (doing side).

Scheme of Subjects

The broad areas of curricular studies recommended by the state for lower primary stage up to Class V are : (*i*) community living, (*ii*) mother tongue, (*iii*) Hindi, (*iv*) English (optional), (*v*) mathematics, (*vi*) craft, (*vii*) general science, (*viii*) geography, (*ix*) history, civics and administration, (*x*) art and music, and (*xi*) physical education This scheme lacks education in spiritual and moral values in the explicit form.

Contents of the Science Syllabus

The content of the syllabus is grouped around broad topics and in each of these topics major concepts have been given as statements to indicate exact scope relevant to the class for which the topic is prescribed. The broad topics are : (*i*) air, water and weather, (*ii*) our universe, (*iii*) rock, soil and minerals, (*iv*) living things, (*v*) plant life, (*vi*) animal life, (*vii*) housing and clothing, (*viii*) human body, health and hygiene, (*ix*) safety and first aid, (*x*) measurements, (*xi*) energy and work, (*xii*) matter and materials, (*xiii*) scientists at work. Since in the primary stage children are expected to learn environmental sciences, i e. what they see in the land, sky, atmosphere under the earth, in their body and in the laboratory, the inclusion of these topics are justified. Inclusion of 'scientists' is a novel feature of the curriculum The curriculum does not suggest any activity for the pupils.

Time Allotment

ROUTINE ACTIVITIES . Paripath safai, prayer, national anthem, current topics, news, a brief talk, etc for 20 minutes per day at the beginning of the school.

Only 7 per cent of the total time is devoted to the teaching of science which seems unjust for an activity-packed subject. Again, on an average 5 periods should be given to the teaching of science which seems justified for the existing scheme of studies.

Subjects	No. of periods per week
1. Community living	2
2. Mother tongue	8
3. Hindi	2
4. English	7
5 Mathematics	7
6 Craft, art and music	6
7. General science	3
8. Geography	2
9. History, civics and administration	3
10. Physical education	5
	Total 45

The Handbook

The syllabus, in spite of many details added to it, gives only an outline of the courses of study prescribed, but in order to enable the teacher to understand the correct spirit of the courses of study the proper approach and method, he needs detailed guidance It is necessary to clarify in detail the exact scope of each topic of study or purpose of teaching it, the habits and skills it is expected to develop, the appropriate method of teaching, etc There is a recommendation for such a handbook and preparation of resource units.

Diagnostic and Remedial Works

The curriculum sets apart 4 periods per week for guidance and supervision of the individual pupil in Class I-IV. The remedial work is mainly necessary in mother tongue and mathematics (arithmetic). Similarly there is a suggestion of introducing diagnostic tools in the schools, keeping a separate Administrative Unit in the Directorate. The real responsibility may be handled by the inspectors, training colleges and experts as teachers are laymen in this aspect

Additional Programmes

There is often a complaint that syllabi and instruction do not take into consideration the needs of pupils with higher abilities with the result that although they are capable of superior work, they have to keep pace with the pupils of average ability and thus lose interest in their school and studies The committee has, therefore, suggested additional topics and activities for pupils with higher abilities for studies Although there are recommendations for the need of above average students nothing is mentioned for the enrichment programme of below average students and dull students.

Conclusion

There is no mention of methods of teaching aids to be used, reference books and establishment of curriculum centres or projects The evaluation procedures are not prescribed by the committee. On the whole, there is no mention about curriculum implementation and evaluation. However, the curriculum deserves to be average in the national standard □

Identification and Prevention of Potential Drop-Outs at the Elementary Stage

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ON THE basis of survey studies it has been estimated that about 60 per cent of the children who start school in Class I do not reach Class V and nearly 74 per cent leave school before Class VIII[1]. The reasons for the individual children leaving their studies in the middle are numerous and are too well known. These have been repeatedly identified through survey studies conducted at different levels Though there is some decline[2] in the drop-out rate in the various classes of primary stage yet corresponding educational efforts by way of advance remedial action to locate the potential drop-outs and check their leaving are generally not made by the concerned individuals and agencies—parents, teachers and social workers.

Objective and Method of the Study

It is a well-known fact that majority of the children who leave school generally come from the weaker sections. They do so for economic reasons as they have to assist their parents either at home or at the place of their work. According to Rusia (1983), in Madhya Pradesh about 63 per cent children in the age-group 11-14 and 34 per cent in the age-group 11-14 have so far been brought to school[3] According to this estimate, about 38 per cent of children are still in the stage of educational 'deprivation' and 25 per cent of them, who had joined the primary school in the age-group of 6-11, leave it by the time they reach the middle stage. It means that once the children have joined the schools a large number of them are unable to continue as the holding power of the schools is poor. Serious efforts have, therefore, to be made to identify and check the potential drop-outs. How can this be done is the objective of this article

Every year, in the beginning of the academic session, concentrated efforts are made by the state education departments by laun-

[1] *Education in Asia*, 5, March 1974, Unesco Regional Office, Bangkok

[2] Avinash Grewal, Study of enrolment drive of Rajgarh district (M. P.), (unpublished), 1983

[3] *Bulletin of Non-formal Education*, NCERT, I, 2, Sept. 1983

ching enrolment drives but little is done to retain these children who have already entered the schools Even a casual inspection of class records would indicate that in every class there are a few children who are not keeping pace with the rest of the children and might leave if timely remedial action is not taken The class teacher would be able to identify those children early who are showing the symptoms of a future drop-out. A perusal of research studies conducted on failures in schools suggests that counsellors or for that matter teachers should seek to discover pupils in the school who give the indication of becoming drop-outs. Eibling, on the basis of sample csae studies of children has identified some of the characteristics of the potential drop-outs. These are . (*i*) reading retardation, (*ii*) lack of participation in school activities, (*iii*) frequent absence (either truance or questionable illness), (*iv*) low scores on measurements of scholastic aptitude, (*v*) under-achievement, (*vi*) low value of education in the family, (*vii*) low family income status and (*viii*) behaviour problems.[4]

As would be seen these indicators of potential failures are, by and large, applicable to our conditions as well. Most of the children who leave our schools without completing school education also tend to show these symptoms. An exercise to test this assumption was made by the author who organized an inservice orientation course for a group of 17 career masters (counsellors) who are posted at the basic teachers training institutes (BTIS) in Madhya Pradesh. They have been qualified as career masters with a master's degree in psychology or education and usually teach educational psychology to the trainees as well In addition to this, they also coordinate the work of non-formal education (NFE) centres run by the BTIS. The major objective of organizing this orientation course was to acquaint the participants with those aspects of educational and personal guidance as may be applicable to the elementary stage The career masters also supervise the work of teacher-trainees who teach the children enrolled at the NFE centres As a practical activity of the orientation course it was decided to involve participants in identifying some of the potential drop-outs from the 15 sections of a government primary school of Bhopal. This school runs in two shifts. Children of the primary (Class I to V) attend the school in the morning and those of the middle section (Class VI to VIII) attend the school in the afternoon. Children of the morning shift were studied by the participants

Fifteen career masters were involved in this exercise, with the help of class and subject teachers Each one of them was asked to identify one child for detailed individual study and administer Raven's progressive matrices (RPM) test, wherever necessary. The child selected for the study was the one who was not punctual in attending the class and also showed some other type of behavioural problems. Before the case interviews were conducted with the children the characteristics of potential drop-outs, as listed by Eibling, were thoroughly discussed. In two cases, the career masters visited the homes of the parents and the mother of one child was invited to the school for personal interview.

Some Case Studies

Out of the 15 children studied by the career masters, eight representative case stu-

[4]Harold H. Eibling, *A guide to child study and student counselling srevices,* Division of Pupil Services, Department of Child Study and Student Counselling, Columbus, Ohio, 1968

dies, highlighting a particular problem, are summarized below :

1. An 8-year old boy has attended the school only on 37 out of 58 days from July to September. His mother leaves for work early in the morning and the father is a late-riser. If the child wakes up in time he goes to school, otherwise decides to remain absent for the day. Is this not a case of parental neglect?
2. A 12-year old boy has come to the school only on 28 days out of 58. He has developed no friendship with other children. Teachers are also somewhat indifferent to him. Quite often the child does not come to the school after recess as there is no one at home to prepare meals for him
3. Another 12-year old boy is a grade repeater His younger brother also studies in the same class but in another section If he makes mischief at home he is deprived of food by way of punishment. He is not having books of all the subjects He needs sympathetic dealing both by the parents and teachers.
4. There is a case of a 14-year old boy whose mother leaves for work at 7 in the morning after cooking food for the child. The boy eats alone He is not having science and mathematics books His attendance is good (49 out of 58) but he is in the habit of doing his homework in the morning which is not satisfactory But this is also not checked by the teachers, thus, adding to the indifference to regular work on the part of the boy.
5. A 10-year old girl is mentally retarded which has been caused possibly due to birth injury. She remains unresponsive to teachers' questions The mother of the girl, who was invited to the school for personal interview. told the career master that she was advised by someone to admit the child to Asha Niketan—an institution for the handicapped children But the mother fears that the child's condition might deteriorate in the company of other mentally retarded children. This is a case where mother is very cooperative but ignorant. She needs the support of the school and help of a social worker.
6. Nine-year old Suresh has attended the school only on 35 out of 58 days He had a mild attack of polio in early years. His attendance has been declining sharply every month—23 in July, 11 in August and 1 in September up to the middle of the month The child is very aggressive and beats children who are even older to him.
7. Sudhama, a 12-year old boy, is studying in Class V. He is very irregular in attending the school. He completes his homework but does not show it to the teacher, nor do the teachers show any interest in this which is indicative of lack of rapport between the teachers and the child. He has reading difficulties and makes mistakes in adding numbers
8. Nine-year old Suchitra is a student of Class IV who had an attack of polio due to which she has develo-

ped inferiority feelings She too is very irregular in attending the school. She shows temper, tantrums and often complains of headache She is also in the habit of coming late to the class.

Some Suggestions

All the above case studies have educational implications and require appropriate action on the part of the functionaries of formal school system This includes school teachers, headmasters, social and medical workers, parents and teacher-educators The following suggestions emerge out of this exercise done by the professionals who have background of school teaching, psychology and guidance

1. In the first three months of the academic session the school should identify those children who have different types of problems listed in the above case studies and take remedial steps.
2. There is need of close cooperation with the parents of the potential drop-outs in order to bring a change in their attitude towards education and involve them in the education of their children
3. Medical and social workers, who undertake projects in child health care and nutrition, may also be associated for handling difficult cases.
4. The student-teachers in the BTIS or colleges of education may be given practical orientation in dealing with potential drop-outs of different classes and categories
5. In our country there is over-emphasis on statistical studies in research in education and psychology. If we are to help these children really, insights have to be developed by conducting clinical and developmental studies of children rather computing correlation coefficients between variables, as is being done at present in most of the research studies
6. Personal and educational guidance should form an integral part of the teacher training programmes. This can be even done without sophisticated psychological testing Training in behaviour modification techniques is far more important.

These days we are trying to bring more and more children to schools through alternative modes of education such as through the system of non-formal education But those who have already joined the formal schools have to be kept there till they complete their studies. This would be possible only if the teachers take some type of anticipatory action so that the possible school failures could be minimized and effective use of human and material resources is made ☐

The Use of Dictionaries

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IN THE sixteenth century, there was much demand for bilingual dictionaries (particularly Latin-English). In 1604, Robert Cawdrey brought about a 'monolingual' model But there was not much of a difference Dictionaries of the 1970's aim at translating a relatively foreign language into a familiar one These are *Webster English Collegiate*, *The Longman Modern English*, the revised *Chambers*, the sixth *Concise Oxford*, *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *The Oxford Paperback*, etc

What we find today is that students have not inculcated the habit of maintaining and consulting dictionaries, which is a pity There are very rare situations where the case is different—what to speak of pronouncing words. Pupils' regular consultation of dictionaries for half an hour daily results in the enhancement of their vocabulary, but the dictionaries should be standardized, accurate and uptodate. In some cases, the students don't get the guidance for referring the dictionary So it becomes imperative for language teachers to guide the pupils in this direction. Its use in the classroom situation should be encouraged.

There are dictionaries—many are excellent, some are miserable. But none of them is the supreme authority. English has never been authorized by the government or any institution A dictionary merely tells how speakers speak the words of their language

We should always avoid referring to the old dictionaries which are 15 or 20 years old simply because of the fact that new words do come in use—thus making the difference in usage. Moreover, some speakers are in the habit of referring paperbacks abridged dictionaries and pocket dictionaries which are 'doubly' abridged, i e they are the abridged form of the abridged dictionaries. A word may have 50 contexts while these dictionaries may give only one or two contexts Native language-to-English dictionaries should also be reframed because so far there is no such accurate, authentic and authoritative dictionary. One has recently been publishd by Oxford University Press (English-Hindi) which is a good attempt but only a drop in the ocean.

Dictionaries inform us about various things. A good authoritative dictionary tells us the exact and accurate spelling while we may

ı trap of controversy over spelling if we to unauthentic dictionary. It would be ; or less the same case as /f/ is spelled ,h/ in 'enough'. /i/ is spelled as /o/ in nen'; /sh/ is spelled /ti/ as in 'nation'. rge Bernard Shaw, the famous English ıatist, once spelled fish in this way as ti' We come to know the pronunciation phonetic transcription of the words lso tells us about the stress. The ıble division also helps us in ing out the different syllables of a word where the word is divided Very rare good dictionaries tell us the history, ın and derivation of the word and particrly its development before its adoption :nglish Dictionaries also tell us about :rent meaning, parts of speech, its usage, synonyms and antonyms Some dic-ıaries have rules for pronunciation stress, ›-patterns and non-English sounds. We uld be careful about the order in which the ınings are listed Sometime recent meaning urs in the last. Most dictionaries give the ıent meaning first and then they go back he first derivation. It is very useful for ›wing the development and history of the ·d.

Some Authentic Dictionaries

1. The compact edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2 Vols. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1971 (A photographically reduced version of the original 13-volume unabridged, OED)
2. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 2 vols. Oxford : Clarendon Press 1960
3. *Concise Oxford Dictionary* Calcutta Oxford University Press, 1974
4. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English.* London English Language Book Society, 1979, 3rd edn. A must for every school
5. *The International Webster New Encyclopaedic Dictionary for the English Lanugage*
6. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, College edition. New Delhi : Allied, 1982
7. *Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English* London Longman (A vocabulary reference book, specially designed to help students to expand their vocabulary)
8. *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, International student edition. London . Longman, 1978. (One of the best dictionaries currently available with exhaustive usage labels and numerous examples) ☐

New Directions in Teacher Education

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THE democratization of education has become a global imperative. The stress is now being laid on the expansion of educational opportunity for all and the diversification of educational curricula in order to meet the changing social demands Two major purposes have emerged as a result of our changing outlook on education

1 Human resource development has become a central goal of education Career education, education for the world of work, education for social and economic progress are some of the new dimensions of education today for which our teachers must get ready

2 Education as an institution has been looked upon as a solution to a wide range of social ills, including moral disintegration and social unrest

The teacher education has to reorient its role to meet these challenges. The strength of the educational system largely depends upon the quality of its teachers. However enlightened the aims, however efficient the administration, however large and uptodate the equipment, the value of all this to the children is determined by the teachers. The quality of the future citizens of a country depends upon the quality, competence and character of its teachers

Trends in Teacher Education

Two factors have necessarily to be taken into account when world-wide trends in teacher education are kept in view First, there is the specific character of a teacher education system, that is, how far the national aspirations are being reflected, however much they may vary from region to region and state to state Despite variations the basic goals and the general outlines of the structure and content of teacher education are the same throughout the world In this sense, trends may be identified, in which a particular nation's teacher education system is tested on a

*The author is indebted to Dr. Baqer Mehdi, Professor of Education, NCERT, New Delhi for rendering his valuable assistance in preparing this article.

spectrum whose general tendencies point in a certain direction Second, these general tendencies may be viewed in the light of the diversity of educational provisions of a state which is closely linked with its cultural values, historical background and economic conditions.

Due to certain educational changes three major issues have gained prominence First, there is a general consensus that participation in the decision-making process for teacher education must be broadened. Babs Fafunwa recommends the participation of educators, parents, employers, youth organizations, farmers, carpenters, government officials and other tradesmen and women in curriculum planning for all levels of education. Second, the competence-based teacher education has given a new boost to the perennial concern for linking theory and practice in teacher education However, this faces serious obstacles either through the disinterestedness of teacher-educators or the unwillingness of government agencies and institutions to allocate the time, resources and professional personnel to provide a programme worthy of professional standing equal to other professions. Third, the success of a teacher education programme is determined by the competency of the education personnel that it produces. Teacher education must be held accountable for teacher effectiveness (the impact the teacher has on the pupils), teacher performance (the teaching behaviour of the teacher on the job), and teacher competence (the mastery of professional knowledge, professional skills and professional value positions the teacher brings to the teaching function). Researchers cannot answer with certainty the degree of influence a teacher has on student performance or behaviour The reason seems to be very simple as the variables are too numerous, the interactions and relationships are too complex and multi-dimensional However, Good (1979-81), Good and others (1975) and Brophy (1981) have reviewed a number of studies on teacher behaviour and classroom learning and have identified several factors as being responsible for student learning

1. Variety in the use of teaching methods and media.
2. Teacher enthusiasm
3. Teacher's alertness in monitoring classroom activities.
4. Realistic teacher expectations in consonance with student abilities and behaviours
5. Student opportunity to learn what is being tested.

The fourth issue highlighted the lack of consensus in the teacher education community related to 'a technology of teacher education' In assessing the relationship of teacher education to industrialization, Taylor (1982) comments

> We do not yet fully understand, and certainly are not in a position to conrol the ways in which skills, knowledge, dispositions and motivations that teachers acquire as a result of their education and training subsequently influence the cognitive and moral development of pupils and success and failure of educational policies.

It is this very lack of a clear and unassailable bridge between teacher education and student of achievement that has given a major impetus to re-evaluation of structural, curricular and organizational aspects in teacher education

Structurally, teacher education has been comparatively neglected in the post-independence period Its significance was stressed by the University Education Commission (1949), the Secondary Education Commission (1953), the International Team on Teachers and Curricula in Secondary Schools (1954) and its weaknesses have also been highlighted by the Education Commission (1964-66), but unfortunately these recommendations have not yet been implemented in any large measure. Contrary to it, teacher education in industrialized countries endeavours to prepare teachers and specialists for all age-groups and subjects In developing countries teacher education is stratified and linked in duration and complexity of preparation to the client group, viz primary and secondary school children

Teacher Education Curriculum

While viewing the teacher education curriculum it becomes evident that it has also remained static The four basic elements which should constitute the curriculum of teacher education are

1. General education in the academic disciplines.
2. Specialized subject education in academic disciplines and for special client groups such as early childhood, the handicapped or vocational education.
3. Pedagogical theory, practices and techniques.
4. Practical experiences in clinical, laboratory, or classroom settings.

In the light of the above it seems imperative that the emphasis on the following characteristics of teacher education curriculum should be made :

1. The role of the teacher as a development agent and as a community leader working as a member of the team of development agents in an area.
2. The capability of a teacher in understanding the learning problems of children belonging to disadvantaged population groups and to devise the techniques of teaching and learning most suitable for the learners.
3. The resourcefulness of teachers in identifying and organizing learning resources, and of linking the school through the teaching and learning process with the community
4. The capability of teachers in cultivating knowledge of (*i*) development processes, (*ii*) social and economic problems, (*iii*) non-formal and other modes of education, and (*iv*) community participation
5. The teacher-educators should ensure that training conducted for teacher-trainees is close to real-life situations and teacher-trainees were in direct contact with the environment in which they will work.

Suggestions

The most diversified organizational systems have emerged from the many efforts during the past years in Europe It is suggested that the following steps may be taken to bring about changes in the teacher education in India :

1. Existing teacher education institutions should be changed into comprehensive institutions of teacher preparation and to enlighten the staff with

the new professional knowledge and teaching skills

2 Teachers should be made to undergo inservice education programmes to acquire a sound academic knowledge, a firm base in pedagogical methods and practices and a basic understanding of the psychological, social, economic and political role of education in the country

3 It is felt that teacher education institutions should be turned into nurseries of advanced education research to achieve excellence in teacher preparation and specialization in the various subjects.

4. Teachers should try to assume the various roles as educational psychologist, counsellor, mental-hygiene worker and the representative of the society in addition to his basic skills and knowledge.

5 For any teacher education programme, orientation to self-learning devices and training in their use through organized activities needs consideration.

6. The field experience programme should be launched as it seems to be a neglected aspect

Lastly, it should not be out of place to mention here, when we as a nation are trying to make progress in almost every field of our activity, the present system of education cannot survive until it creates a climate in tune with the changing times. It is now high time for teacher education institutions to accept the challenge of preparing teachers who may help to build a new society by imparting good and useful education to children whom they teach.

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Vocabulary Development and the Pupil

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IT IS of utmost importance to help pupils achieve their optimum in vocabulary development Reasons for emphasizing a rich listening, speaking, reading, and writing vocabulary on the part of pupils need clarifying Why should pupils achieve their optimum in vocabulary development ?

1. Ideas and content are expressed more accurately and with greater clarity.
2. Success in many jobs, vocations, and professions is dependent upon proficiency in vocabulary development.
3. Prestige generally is attached to richly developed listening, speaking, reading, and writing vocabularies
4. Greater enjoyment in reading as a leisure-time activity is possible.
5. Problem-solving demands optimum achievement in vocabulary development.
6. When conversing and discussing, it is necessary to have proficient command of the English language including the proper meaning and use of words
7. It is necessary to use words which convey meanings accurately in speaking and writing
8. Variety in selecting terminology is important in speaking and in writing

Developing Pupils' Vocabularies

There are numerous learning activities which can be provided for pupils in vocabulary development. These activities must be on the present achievement levels of individual pupils Interests and needs of pupils must be considered in teaching-learning situations. What are some important learning activities for pupils in vocabulary development ?

The teacher should orally read stories and library books to pupils on all grade levels. Pupils will hear new terms and words when listening to diverse stories and poems. Many of the new vocabulary words become meaningful to learners in context. The teacher needs to select subject-matter which challenges pupils in wanting to develop their vocabularies more thoroughly.

Pupils learn many new terms by listening to and taking part in discussions. Meanings

of new words may be determined in context. Thus, unknown words become meaningful as they relate to other words in the sentence. In discussions, the listening and speaking vocabularies of pupils may be developed more thoroughly.

It is significant for pupils to experience a listening centre in the class setting. The listening centre should contain tapes and records. Task cards can be utilized periodically at this centre to assess pupil achievement in listening. The tasks on these cards need to be open-ended so that much latitude of pupils' responses is possible. Vocabulary development definitely should be emphasized in the chosen tasks.

Pupils should also interact with carefully selected books as a reading centre. The centre should guide pupils in developing a better reading vocabulary. The library books should pertain to a variety of topics to provide for diverse reading interests of pupils. Also, the books should be on different reading levels to provide for diverse achievement levels among puplis. The learner may then select his/her own library book for reading at an acceptable unique rate of speed.

Lee and Rubin[1] wrote the following involving children's literature in the classroom setting.

> Libraries are a key resource whenever stimulating children's reading is at stake. The library room or reading centre should be replenished frequently with books related to major topics of interest to small groups or the whole class. The books should provide a wide range in the maturity of concepts as well as in areas of interest. Teachers need to check frequently to eliminate books that are no longer being used in order to save space for other books of current interest. Besides published books, the reading centre should include books written by the children in the room. Expressive photographs and art work executed by both teachers and students can stimulate the writing of books for use in the classroom. Thus, reading materials created by children can become a valuable part of a library collection. Such materials can provide the art program with a rationale for book illustrating, binding, and production.

In the class setting, the teacher may arrange an audio-visual centre. Here, pupils can view filmstrips and slides of their own choosing pertaining to an ongoing unit of study. This experience should aid pupils in attaching meaning to new terms as they view semi-concrete situations in visual presentations. If pupils are studying a unit on Colonial America, they may view and discuss scenes in filmstrips and in slides pertaining to homes, stores, schools, and other facets of living pertaining to that period of time. Improved listening and speaking vocabularies should be an important end-result. If pupils see written script on an interesting filmstrip, they may also increase their reading vocabularies.

At a writing centre pupils can select, from among many, a picture to write about. The contents of the picture may be discussed in a committee and, no doubt, will aid many pupils in establishing richer listening and speaking vocabularies. When writing about a picture, learners should be guided to

[1]Dorris M. Lee and Joseph B. Rubin, *Children and language*, Belmont, California : Wadsworth Publishing Company,1979, Pp. 244

improve their writing vocabulary. The written content may be shared with other learners. Hopefully, an increased reading vocabulary will result. Greene and Petty[2] wrote

> Writing is a personal act; it is an expression of the self It is a process that is done for a purpose, which results in a product. It is a process of thought and emotion that requires certain skills and abilities to gain the product and accomplish the purpose This product has certain qualities and conditions of form that can be judged in terms of the purpose Because writing is personal, the individual determines the purpose and judge the product. As an expression of self, the process changes as the individual changes. As a child's background of experience enlarges, the needs for expression change. As a child grows the ability to give expression grows—providing the skills necessary for such expression have been learned and the desire to express has not been stifled.

In different grade levels in the elementary school, learners might bring available pictures to school to develop a pictured dictionary. The abstract word can be written in neat manuscript style underneath each illustration. Pupils may discuss content pertaining to each picture. In these learning activities pertaining to developing a pictured dictionary, pupils may develop their listening, speaking, reading, and writing vocabularies. Pupils with teacher guidance might tell stories pertaining to library books which have been read. Learners may tell stories in small groups. This activity can aid pupils in developing their listening and speaking vocabularies.

At selected intervals, pupils should have opportunities to use a glossary or dictionary to look up meanings of relevant words This activity should not be carried to an excess since boredom in learning might set in. A variety of learning activities must be provided for pupils in vocabulary achievement.

Anderson and Lapp[3] wrote the following involving initial sequential dictionary skills for learners :

> The first dictionary skill to be taught is the location of a word. Some children may not know the alphabet sequence because it has not been used frequently prior to this time Check to be sure that the children know the sequence of letters in the alphabet, and then practise until they can find words in the dictionary by their first letters. To avoid the necessity of having some children recite the alphabet before they can locate a word, discuss the relative placement of letters. Have the children discover that when the dictionary is opened in the centre we find the words that start with *l* and *m* If it is opened at the first quarter, we find the words with *d* and *e*, and at the third quarter we find the *r* and *s* words

Pupils in a small group could take turns orally reading a library book which these learners have not read previously. The library book must be on the reading levels of

[2]Harry A. Greene and Walter T. Petty, *Developing language skills in the elementary school*, 5th edition. Boston : Allyn and Bacon, Inc, 1975, Pp. 285

[3]Paul S Anderson and Diane Lapp, *Language skills in elementary education*, third edition New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1979, Pp. 274

involved pupils Learners are then aided in developing their reading vocabularies as well as their listening vocabularies In reading orally, pupils need to develop their speaking vocabularies adequately. Each child must have ample opportunity to achieve proficiency in reading orally a given selection The pupil then should be able to develop his/her reading and speaking vocabularies more thoroughly Listeners to the oral presentation might achieve at a higher level in their listening vocabularies In guiding pupils to read well orally after ample practice, the following criteria need to be followed :

1. The child should practise using voice inflection properly to convey the author's possible meaning
2. Proper attention should be given to punctuation marks so that needed pauses present intended meanings to listeners.
3. Pupils should practise stressing words accurately so that meaningful reading is in evidence
4. Fluency in reading content must be emphasized in oral reading.
5. Audience contact is important in oral reading since content is being communicated to listeners

To help pupils write more effectively, an individualized list of spelling words written down for each learner to master in his/her own notebook might aid in learning to spell words correctly. The words a child needs to spell correctly in functional writing situations are then contained in the list. Additional words may be added to the list as needed. When seeing words in print, pupils are guided in developing an improved reading vocabulary. Using these words in writing should assist pupils in achieving at a higher level in developing a quality writing vocabulary.

Hennings[4] wrote the following involving individual differences among learners in spelling :

> In any class, the range of spelling ability is at least equal to the range of reading ability Some children have a keen sense of sound differences; they can manipulate sound-symbol relationships with ease and can look at groups of related words and identify features common to the group. Others have trouble with sounds, symbols and/or word-building units; they may have trouble with problem solving as well, being able to perceive only the simplest relationships Schools must structure spelling programmes to take into account differences such as these

A speaking centre can house a cassette-recorder as well as a record player. Pupils may practise speaking on a variety of topics as well as in diversity of kinds of speeches given. A list might be developed cooperatively by pupils with teacher guidance pertaining to topics as well as kinds of speeches to be given. Reference materials for pupils to gather needed information prior to giving oral presentations should also be located at the centre. Library books, encyclopedias, films, pictures, slides, filmstrips, models, and objects may be used by pupils as reference materials to gather needed information to give an oral presentation. Pupils individually or in groups may record their presentations and listen to feedback. Learners with teacher guidance might then evaluate the quality of the oral presentation.

[4]Dorothy Grant Hennings, *Communication in action* Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally & Company, 1978, Pp. 390

Standards that may be followed when assessing oral presentations could include the following :

1. Respect for the contributions of others
2. Pupils individually should be evaluated in terms of their own unique past achievement A child should definitely not be compared with the achievement of other learners.
3. Proper sequence is important in giving oral reports.
4. Content in oral presentations should show effort in its preparation.
5. Ideas must be clearly presented on the understanding levels of listeners.
6. Organization of content in the report should meet appropriate standards
7. Proper stress, pitch, and juncture is important in presenting content orally.

Loban, [5] *et al.*, wrote concerning the use of oral language :

> Constantly, the teacher of oral communication must be deeply aware of speech as a form of human behavior—significant behavior because it reveals the speaker to his public. Instinctively, we have always known the power of speech to reveal; too infrequently have we considered that silence too can tell things about us Until recently concern for the fact that our speech might betray us was not thought of as "the desire to project a favorable image," but that is what it is called today. Television has made a vast public conscious of how much more than words even a brief "exposure" may convey. Almost nowhere in the communication context does the wish to protect oneself weigh more heavily than with young people in the classroom. We each have an ideal self-image, inextricably bound to our sense of personal dignity Even though we may know beyond doubt that our self-image flatters us, one who does not treat that image with respect blocks communication. This is the reason we stress so insistently the need for creating a climate where the student feels secure enough to express himself freely Many things are necessary in order to help students learn to use oral language with honesty and vigour, but the proper environment is the *sine qua non.*

Further learning activities to aid pupils in vocabulary development include pupils bringing objects for an interest centre. For example, pupils in the fall months might bring leaves, insects, empty birds' nests, twigs, and small branches for the centre. As the items on this interest centre are discussed, pupils will learn new terms in vocabulary development

An exciting, challenging learning environment should be a reality in any class setting. Thus, an aquarium might guide pupils teaching in vocabulary development. A fish in an aquarium can help pupils in developing a richer listening and speaking vocabulary. Pupils may learn the names of different kinds of fish in the aquarium. Learners might also learn vocabulary terms pertaining to different parts of a fish. Knowledge about fish food can also be acquired A terrarium in the class setting may also aid pupils in vocabulary development. Thus, pupils can develop important

[5] Walter Loban, *et al., Teaching language and literature.* New York : Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969, Pp. 268 -69

learnings in vocabulary development pertaining to frogs, turtles, and harmless small snakes Important terms relating to caring for and feeding the amphibians and reptiles may also be inherent in these experiences

Selected potted plants kept in the classrooms could aid pupils in vocabulary development :

1. Learning the names and functions of different parts of plants
2. Developing learnings of different types of soil used in potted plants
3. Understanding photosynthesis as a scientific concept
4. Experimenting to test variables in ongoing units The vocabulary terms of 'experimental' and 'control group' might be emphasized in teaching-learning situations.
5. Taking turns in giving proper care to plants in the classroom Learning appropriate terminology is a part of the ongoing activity.

Pupils can extend and improve their ability to communicate ideas well through becoming actively involved at a dramatization and puppet centres. When utilizing dramatization, pupils cooperatively may plan a pantomime or engage in creative dramatics. In pantomimes, no spoken words are utilized during the ongoing activity. In ongoing units of study, pupils may pantomime scenes such as the following :

1. Colonizing in the New World.
2. Signing the Declaration of Independence.
3. Participating in the Boston Tea Party
4. Protesting the Stamp Act

Each of these pantomimes need to be planned thoroughly in terms of content, sequence of action, roles to be played, and reality of presentation. Much discussion is needed to plan each of the facets of pantomiming Pupils should be guided in improving their skills to communicate ideas effectively during planning sessions.

In creative dramatics, speaking parts are developed as the need arises. Pre-planning of the dramatization is necessary to some extent such as having adequate content in mind pertaining to what is being dramatized. Thus, depending on the unit being studied, pupils may engage in the following, as examples, involving creative dramatics (*i*) playing the role of workers on a farm, (*ii*) taking care of animals in a zoo, (*iii*) working on an assembly line and (*iv*) being members of the United Nations Security Council.

Learners may engage in research using a variety of reference sources in getting needed information to proceed with creative dramatics experiences. Modification of what has been *dramatized can occur after the* learning activity has been completed. Questions that pupils with teacher guidance may ask pertaining to the utilization of creative dramatics might be the following .

1. Did pupils have adequate background information to present content in the form of creative dramatics?
2. Were the respective roles being played in creative dramatics realistic?
3. Did pupils enjoy the ongoing activity?
4. Were learners able to attach meaning to the presentation?
5. Did the creative dramatization actively provide for individual differences ?

6. Did pupils conscientiously evaluate their own achievement ?
7. Did pupils show feelings of respect towards others ?
8. Did pupils feel that purpose was involved in the ongoing presentation ?

Van Allen[6] suggests the following summary of skills and abilities for extending pupils' vocabularies :

Vocabulary acquisition

—Develops meanings for new words through experiences

—Develops new meanings for known words through experiences

—Develops understanding of the emotional connotation of words

—Develops understanding of the aesthetic connotation of words

—Acquires a vocabulary for talking about language

—Reacts with meaning to figurative language such as similies, metaphors, and analogies

—Reacts with meaning to idiomatic expressions

—Acquires new words in line with some systematic plan such as one using personal word cards.

Vocabulary Application

—Uses resources in the classroom for specific word classes needed in writing

—Uses a thesaurus to add variety to writing

—Uses a dictionary to verify meanings

—Develops personal resources such as a writing handbook to aid in writing and spelling

—Can write in patterns that require the use of specified form-classes. Examples : cinquain and diamante

—Uses inflectional changes according to context. Examples : dog, dogs ; leap, leaps, leaped, leaping

—Uses pictures in context with language patterns that use a variety of form-class words

—Uses the same word in a variety of forms. Examples : beauty, beautify, beautiful : love, lovely, lovable, unlovely

—Makes use of descriptive words to clarify and elaborate meanings words of colour, size, shape, texture, sound, taste, smell, feelings, touch and motion

—Knows and uses more than one name for the same thing Examples : mother, woman, female, girl, wife, aunt

—Knows and uses more than one word for the same action Examples : run, scamper, hurry, race, trot, flee

Questions to Consider

1. How do you think elementary school pupils can be aided in developing their listening, speaking, reading and writing vocabularies ?
2. Discuss with selected teachers approaches utilized to guide pupils in vocabulary development.
3. Survey recent educational periodical articles pertaining to aiding pupils in vocabulary development. Which methods are mentioned most frequently ?
4. Talk to an elementary school principal about pupil achievement in vocabulary development. What recommendation did the principal make to help pupils achieve to their optimum in vocabulary development ?
5. List important objectives that pupils should achieve in vocabulary development.
   a. Which learning activities, do you think, should be utilized to help pupils achieve these objectives ?
   b How would you evaluate to determine if the desired objectives have been achieved ? □

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[6]Roach Van Allen, *Language experiences in communication*. Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976, Pp. 272 and 273

Teachers Write

Problems of Children in Delhi's Government Schools

THE introduction of guidance services in school setting manifested manifold issues, such as teacher's role, students' participation, problems and concerns. During one such encounter in Government Co-Educational Secondary School, New Friends Colony, the following obsevations were made.

Socio-economic status accounts for most of the problems We know that socio-economic status determines a person's whole-life pattern to a great extent. And most of the children who are coming to government schools belong to lower socio-economic status They belong to the class with rigid values and customs. And these values don't allow them to study further or not at all. The statement "in our caste girls are not supposed to be educated" and the likes are very commonly heard.

Most of the problems arise due to poverty, unawareness, lack of opportunities, and lack of exposure to these opportunities also come under this factor. Because the child who comes from a poor family is not exposed to the most of the modern world, he does not get the opportunity to explore different activities. He doesn't have the resources nor the time to know these activities. Even our schools are unable to provide all these facilities, but very few activities are provided.

They are unable to know the wide spectrum of occupation Their knowledge about the world of work is very limited This is due to the fact that most of the persons they come across daily are workers in a factory, technicians, potters, sweepers, pheriwallas, clerks, etc. And we know that the knowledge of different occupations comes from our parents, relatives and neighbours (the socio-economic status determines our neighbourhood also). Many of the children know about some common but good jobs like medicine, engineering, but their knowledge about new and emerging occupations and about some already known occupations is poor because they don't have the opportunity to go through newspapers, magazines, etc Their economic condition doesn't allow them to have luxuries such as TV, which is a great help in this respect. All these problems influence career planning which is a very importtant factor in one's life

Related to this problem of poverty is illiteracy and backwardness of parents. A

very small group of parents is educated Illiteracy affects their attitude towards education They are sending their children to schools, no doubt, but without any aim, without realizing the importance of education. They don't realize the fact that schools are meant not only for providing education but also for the allround development of their children They pay for the PTA's, not knowing the importance of it. They don't cooperate with the activities organized by the schools. They think that all the competitions, debates, sports, etc are useless They just deny providing any monetary help even if they can afford it.

The factor which accounts for all this is lack of general education And for this lack of general education of parents, children have to suffer. Because parents do not give any attention to their children in their studies, sometimes they have no time and sometimes they don't feel it is needed. We know that at this stage children want some attention and even pestering sometimes This attitude of parents influences the attitude of children towards education and they take it very lightly.

Some other children, who are interested in their studies, have a different problem They complain about the lack of time for studies In order to improve their economic condition, they help their parents in earning their livelihood, and sometimes they are forced to do pheris, sit in the shop, etc. By the time they return to their homes, they are too exhausted to study or to do homework. This is one problem which is very difficult to deal with And it affects their scholastic achievement badly and creates anxiety and frustration

All these factors lead to a low scholastic achievement. And that is why we find a lot of difference when we compare examination results of government schools and public schools. Otherwise we may not find any difference as far as their intelligence level is concerned

For this our educational system is also responsible to some extent The syllabus which we follow is not uptodate and neither is the method of teaching We still follow the old and traditional way of teaching which creates problems when these children finish their studies and go for competitions for further studies or for certain occupations. The public school children overshadow government school children just because they are specially prepared for these competitive examinations And the government school children are left to face frustrations

Inside school also what we see is that when a child fails, we immediately put a tag on him that he is a failure, he is an unintelligent boy And our behaviour towards him changes accordingly. Even if the child wants to try next time, he is not given any opportunity to do so When these children don't get any satisfaction from the school, they start losing interest in studies and school and start running away. This is the reason why we find truancy cases more frequently in government schools Another reason behind these truancy cases is the size of the class. There are generally 50 students in each section and the teacher finds it really difficult to cater to the needs of every child. In this situation, he cannot think of giving special attention to some children who need it. A third reason which accounts for truancy is the lack of acceptance, sympathy and understanding of children's problems by the teachers, and the lack of recognition that each

student is a person of dignity and worth

These are some of the problems which the government school children are facing. The irony is that we know these problems, they are obvious problems, we can say But what are we doing to help these children ? No doubt, school counsellors are there to help them solve their problems but they are also facing some problems such as lack of provision of separate accommodation which is a must, facilities and finances, and non-implementation of the suggestions made by the counsellor on the basis of psychological test and his or her observation. If school authorities cooperate with the counsellors, they can work more efficiently and can prove themselves useful to deal with problems of children

TASNEEM JAMAL

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News and Views

President inaugurates national science exhibition

THE Thirteenth National Science Exhibition held at Lucknow this year was a grand success, sporting nearly 160 models developed by school children from 27 states and union territories An annual feature, the exhibition was organized to make the birthday celebrations of the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru The theme of this year's exhibition was 'science and technology for productivity' As 1982 happened to be the productivity year the theme of the state-level exhibitions was 'science and productivity' The models put up in the national exhibition were among the best selected from the state-level science exhibitions held last year.

More than 280 school children and teachers participated in the exhibition Besides, 40 local teachers and students displayed their exhibits as special invitees In addition, NCERT as also some of the scientific institutions located in the state, put up displays The President Giani Zail Singh who inaugurated the exhibition hailed the effort. Expressing his pleasure at the innovative models and the hard work that had gone into their making he said "This year's local theme 'science and technology for productivity' is very relevant It projects the main focus of India's scientific endeavour to ensure that the spirit of scientific endeavour shaped by appropriate technology, percolates down to the common man"

The exhibition ground was bedecked with several interesting models Some of them drew heavy crowds were 'paddy processing device, multipurpose ovens, solar water heater, handmade paper, radio for deaf, self-made film projector, mushroom cultivation, paper-ruling machine, low-cost roofing, gobar gas plant, multipurpose hearth, silkworm culture, solar thermo-couple cell, how to make paper at home, space shuttle model, magic robot, automatic fire extinguisher and and touch controlled car.

Books in Hindi for Arunachal Pradesh

IN non-Hindi speaking states, Hindi as a language is not easily acceptable. To make it acceptable it is essential that language is made easy to them. In this direction NCERT's

Department of Education in Social Sciences and Humanities (DESSH) has brought out special books for teaching of Hindi in Arunachal Pradesh Two books in the 'Arun Bharati' series along with their work-books are now in use all over Arunachal Pradesh. The other books in the series are to follow. These books have been prepared after a systematic study of the problems in this area, with the help of experienced teachers, teacher-educators and educational administrators of Arunachal Pradesh

The content of all the lessons in the books has been taken from the life and environment of children living in the state This and the real-life situations depicted through illustrators will make children feel at home with the books The exercises have been so designed as to give children ample opportunities to practise newly learnt structures and words in realistic situations A novel feature of these textbooks is the inclusion of practical teaching hints for teachers at the end of each lesson

Earn while you learn

ACCORDING to an official press release the scheme called 'earn while you learn' has been implemented in 354 centres scattered all over the state Under this scheme children produce items like Tatpatti (mats), chalk-stics, sealing wax and school furnitures. These items are produced under the guidance of their teachers who get remuneration for this work. The scheme was launched five years ago with the specific object of attracting the non-entrants to school, to provide opportunities to the drop-outs to earn money so that they may be able to complete at least their elementary education and to enable the pupils to utilize their leisure hours in learning a productive skill. It was also decided under the scheme that only such items be taken up for production, as are in demand in the Education Department itself so that there is no problem of marketing the goods produced.

Scholarship procedure for Harijan students reframed

THE Madhya Pradesh Government has reframed the procedure of disbursement of scholarships and stipends benefiting 4.50 lakh students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The new system will take effect immediately. Under this scheme the stipulated amount of scholarships and stipends for these students will be credited directly through their individual bank accounts

Girls-only exam. results 'no better'

SINGLE-SEX schools make no significant difference to girls' examination results, according to British Government sponsored research involving some 7,500 pupils, reports *The Times Educational Supplement* The study is said to back up earlier findings that girls in single-sex schools achieve greater examination success because they tend to be brighter to start with, not because of the effect of single-sex education Many all-girls schools are either grammar schools or voluntary schools which can select their pupils.

The research is based on data drawn from the National Child Development Study, a massive exercise which is monitoring the progress of children born in 1958 It was carried out by Miss Jane Steedman from U K, who used the same source for her controversial study of the results of selective and comprehensive schools when she was

working for the National Children's Bureau The study is believed to be the largest ever on this subject and carries extra weight because Miss Steedman was able to compare children's attainment in tests at the age of 11 with their performance five years later in O levels and CSE.

Schools to be offered new practical curriculum

SCHOOLS throughout England and Wales are to be offered a new practical curriculum for the majority of their pupils from next year It will lead to a system of pre-vocational and technical awards parallelling the existing academic examinations, reports *The Times Educational Supplement*

The new system is to be launched in September 1985 by the two main vocational examining and validating bodies, the City and Guilds Institute and the Business and Technician Education Council, U. K The Education Secretary has yet to announce his formal approval, but the development of the scheme has been strongly encouraged by his senior officials

The new curriculum will be based initially on the existing pre-vocational and foundation courses offered by the two bodies, which are being followed by around 90,000 pupils in schools and colleges.

It will aim to provide general education through learning Programmes based on practical activities instead of formal subject teaching. Progress and achievements will be recorded on profiles, and on a certificate which will be awarded to leavers.

It is expected that pupils up to 16 will follow an orientation programme in which the practical activities will be used as motivation for general education while providing them with the chance to explore their aptitudes. Most 16 year-olds will then go on to a second phase which will combine training with education, and include specific occupational skills.

Pupils who stay on beyond 16 are likely to qualify for the existing 17-plus certificate, which is already being run jointly by City and Guilds and BTEC. Those who leave earlier will still get a certificate which is likely to be in a similar form. They will be able to go on to improve their level of qualification by part-times studies The two bodies intend that the certificate should be usable as an entry qualification for their own more advanced courses and for other studies

Although the present plan provides only for the non-academic pupils, behind it lies a vision of radical change for all A report prepared by the Institute suggests that vocational preparation is essential to the development of all young people, and its senior officials hope that the new approach will be so popular that it will become the basic form of learning for all pupils, with academic options added for the minority

More cash sought for computer teaching

A CALL for more cash to be made available by the DES to boost the supply of micro-computers to school was given overwhelming support by delegates to the primary section conference at Stoke Rochford, U.K., according to a report published in *TES* They backed a motion demanding that l.e.a s should set up permanent computer software exhibitions so that primary teachers could see what was on offer The motion also called on l.e.a,s. to provide a loan service to schools.

According to a report from the finding of FAO study entitled, 'Land resources for populations of the future', 65 developing countries would not be able to feed their own produce by the year 2000 if they do not face up to their population vs. resources equation.

The United Nation's information service reports that about 30 per cent of the residents of most large cities in Asia live in slums.

A warning has been issued by the UNESCAP that six out of every ten Asian city-dwellers will live in slums or squatter areas by the year 2000 unless governments curb the massive rural exodus and carry out urban land reform and other remedies.

In Madhya Pradesh 5.12 lakh girls and boys were enrolled last year in primary classes against a target of 3.10 lakh. 5 02 lakh additional students are to be enrolled in the current year.

Recently the members of the National Commission on Teachers—I visited Ahmedabad. They held meetings with school teachers, principals, management representatives and representatives of teachers' association One of the main topics of deliberations was whether privately managed institutions should continue or the government should nationalize them.

An international seminar on 'Global horizons of education' was organized at Gujarat vidyapith at Ahamedabad in collaboration with Indian Committee of Association for World Education in the month of October It was attended by delegates from Indian institutions as well as from foreign countries. Papers presented at the seminar discussed problems like nuclear arms race, energy crisis, need for international cooperation and world education and teacher training programmes □

Indian Educational Review

A Quarterly Journal of Educational Research

Indian Educational Review, being published by NCERT, is one of the top journals in the field of educational research in India. The journal has a balanced coverage, including articles on all aspects of education and different fields of educational research, with a definite bias for problems relating to Indian education

Indian Educational Review contains research articles, research notes, book reviews, Ph D. theses abstracts, materials on new horizons and other feature articles. The areas covered by the journal include sociology of education, economics of education, philosophy and history of education, comparative education, educational technology, work-experience and vocationalization, science and humanities, teacher education, educational psychology and such other allied subjects which have relevance to the Indian situation.

Further details may be obtained from
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TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

We invite our readers—the primary teachers—to contribute to this journal profusely. The articles/features, clearly typed out in double space on one side of the paper only, should be sent to the General Editor, *The Primary Teacher*, Journals Cell, NCERT, NIE Campus, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016.

Decentralized Curriculum and Quality of Education

BAQER MEHDI
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WE ARE at a turning point in the history of our education There is great deal of thinking and considerable activity going on in educational circles to take a fresh look on the objectives as well as the content of our curriculum. The 'syllabus' and the 'textbook' concept of curriculum is rapidly giving place to a more potent concept of curriculum, which is conceived as 'a set of learning experience' to be provided to the child, and in which 'environment' is considered as an 'open book' which the child must learn to read

New Concept of Curriculum

Planned efforts are being made by different agencies to popularize the new concept of curriculum through its various programmes of curriculum development and implementation. The SIEs, the NCERT and the Secondary Education Boards in different states have started making serious efforts to make the school curriculum more relevant and need-based Both the needs of the individual child and the social needs of our country are kept in view in developing school curriculum This has necessarily resulted in speeding up the process of decentralization in curriculum development in the country, which is a happy augury for the future There is a growing realization of the fact that the curriculum to be provided today must prepare the child for his life 15 to 20 years hence, when after completing his education he will take his place in the society as a well-informed citizen of the 21st century.

The problem of providing essential minimum education to all children up to the age of 14 years within the next 10 years and bringing into the fold of education those too who have passed this age, but have either not gone to school or have left school early, is also engaging our attention, as never before and we are trying to find the answer in providing alternatives to formal

schooling, especially in the form of non-formal education, which is essentially based on the philosophy of decentralization of the curriculum. The NCERT and the state education authorities are taking up the programmes of non-formal education in a big way and are developing curricula to meet the needs of the children, who for one reason or another, are not in the school. These children, as we know, come from varied and vastly different economic, social and cultural backgrounds, hence the problem of providing them a suitable and relevant curriculum becomes more complex

The Quality of Education

Improving the over-all quality of education means improving all aspects of the curriculum, both formal and non-formal. This is possible only through a process of decentralization in which the teacher has to play a vital role. Within the framework provided by the centralized curriculum the teacher has to so organize and implement it that it becomes meaningful and relevant for the child. There is a great deal of diffidence on the part of the teacher to make even the slightest deviation from the prescribed syllabus, little realizing that he is free to make use of the syllabus content the way he considers best in order to achieve the larger curriculum ends The knowledge-based education in our schools today is the result of teacher's pre occupation with covering the syllabus and missing altogether the developmental goals of education. No headmaster or education officer, if he is properly oriented to the purposes of education, can stop the teacher from introducing flexibility in the use of the curriculum and trying different teaching-learning strategies which would make for an effective use of the school curriculum. The apprehension on the part of the teacher and the school authorities, that any deviation from the age-old method of teaching the subjects will affect the performance of the student in the examination, is based on a lack of understanding of how children learn. The child's ability to learn many things on his own is seldom fully appreciated by the teacher, which makes things still worse for the child as well as the teacher

A change in emphasis from a mere knowledge-based education to a more relevant and meaningful education of the child is thus called for This has a number of implications for curriculum development and implementation, the most important is providing for flexibility which is possible only through a process of decentralization of curriculum

What is a Decentralized Curriculum ?

Curriculum development policies are often laid down by a central agency either at the national level or at the state level, depending upon whether the Centre takes the full responsibility to decide about the nature and content of the curriculum that would be used in the nation's schools, or it allows the states enough freedom to prepare their own curricula to suit the local conditions keeping in view the broad framework for curriculum development as suggested by the Centre, and the national development goals. If the Centre takes up the entire responsibility of providing the curriculum for the nation's schools, going even to the minutest details, it could be considered as a highly centralized curriculum. In those cases where states have some freedom to adapt their curricula within the broad framework provided by the Centre, we may say that a

certain element of decentralization in the curriculum development programme of the country has been provided.

Within this general framework of a highly centralized and somewhat decentralized curriculum we may think of different levels of decentralization of curriculum and reach a point where the teacher becomes the main functionary in the work of curriculum development, who plans and implements a curriculum which is most suited to the community to which he and his pupils belong, thereby making it more meaningful, more relevant and more need-based. Some of the essential features of a decentralized curriculum are as follows .

1. A decentralized curriculum does not dispense with the need for a central agency in curriculum development The central agency clearly enunciates the national policy and the national development goals and lays down the broad principles which should govern development of the curriculum. The central agency does not dictate but provide directions and guidelines. The agencies at the state and district levels do the main job.
2. A decentralized curriculum provides opportunities to a larger variety of people at different levels to involve themselves in the task of curriculum development The curriculum specialist, the psychologist, and the teacher, besides a number of other agencies in the community, may have to be involved in curriculum development, each contributing its own share to a proper development of the curriculum
3. A decentralized curriculum provides for greater flexibility within the framework of the national policy Adaptations can be made to suit the social conditions.
4. A decentralized curriculum guarantees greater relevance from the point of view of the child and the community.
5. A decentralized curriculum also helps in making a better and more effective use of the curriculum by the teacher

The main problem of a decentralized curriculum, however, is that it may often lead to varying standards. Necessary precautions must be taken so that such a thing does not happen. If the developmental goals of education are kept in view and curriculum is so planned and implemented that the main emphasis is not on academic learning alone, but on the all-round development of the child's personality, each child can be benefited by the education he receives in the school according to his own needs and abilities Academic learning must not be the sole criterion for judging educational standard. The development of the child as a person, as a citizen and as a socially useful worker has also to be kept in view

The quality of education thus has to be judged on the basis of the end-product, that is, the *whole* child. The aim of the total development of the child's personality requires that a great deal of flexibility is introduced into the curriculum and teachers are properly trained and equipped not merely to teach 'subjects' for their own sake, but to help children develop their many-sided personality in such a way that they are able to meet the challenges of a fast developing and rapidly changing society. Obviously, then, it is their mental abilities, social and moral qualities of character, and work skills which have to be properly developed, rather than storing their minds with knowledge alone whose explosion now knows no bounds. The sooner the curriculum planners and teachers are able to take a hard look at the realities of this situation, the better for us as a nation. □

Integrated Education for Children With Speech and Hearing Impairment

A Plan of Action

K R P SINGH
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SAMUEL A. KIRK observes that in the USA, the children who are hard of hearing are generally educated in the regular schools with an itinerant teacher helping them in specific areas in which they lag behind the normal children. Research evidence reveals that if it does not affect the development of speech and hearing of impaired children negatively, they should be educated with the normal children That being so, adequate opportunity needs to be provided to integrate a good deal of activities both for the impaired and the normal children.

Before drawing a plan, it would be better if we arrive at a working definition of integration. For our immediate purpose, integration may be defined as a process of increasing the participation of the children with speech and hearing impairment with the normal children in regular schools. But this integration should be brought about very cautiously. Broadly speaking, the aim of integration is to normalize life and education of the impaired children in the least restrictive environment. In this system, the speech-and-hearing impaired children are educated with the normal children in the normal school From the above-mentioned broad aim, specific objectives may be drawn up. These objectives, among others, could be :

1 To provide equal opportunities for the speech-and-hearing impaired children as those provided for the normal children.
2. To allow the speech and-hearing impaired children, and their families, neighbours and peers to interact socially in normal settings
3 To change stereotyped public response to speech and hearing loss by demonstrating that these children

are children first and the speech-and-hearing impaired children afterwards

4 To provide a natural basis for adult life experience so that the speech-and-hearing impaired children may take their proper place as contributing and useful members in all sectors of society.

We must keep in mind that integrated education is not a dumping ground for a child with speech and hearing impairment. *Such a child needs assistance. The speech-and-hearing impaired children can easily assimilate more than 80 per cent in the regular school if they are provided with correct treatment, correct material, and correct methods and at the correct time.* It is possible to attain successful educational integration of the speech-and-hearing impaired children in a regular school through the following

1. Provision of specialized teachers to serve as resource teachers for devising special materials to be used in special instruction in skills peculiar to speech-and-hearing impaired children such as : (*i*) Training in the use of hearing aids, (*ii*) Auditory training, (*iii*) Lip-Reading, (*iv*) Identifying speech defect, and (*v*) Speech correction.
2. Provision of all appropriate educational texts and selection and preparation of visual aids.
3. Provision of consultation to regular classroom teachers, school administrators, families, local health authorities and the general public on matters of education including special teaching techniques for the speech-and-hearing impaired children.
4. Full utilization of local consultants, specialists and volunteers with special skills or those who are willing to be trained to assist in specialized ways.

In this plan, first of all such children will be identified among all the speech-and-hearing impaired children as can safely hope to be benefited from integration Secondly, the speech-and-hearing impaired children will come to a regular school Strategically, eight to ten such speech-and-hearing handicapped children, distributed in different classes all over the school, not more than 2 to 3 in one class may be accommodated in one school.

The speech-and-hearing handicapped children will attend the regular class most of the time (or as long as they profitably can) They may come to the resource teacher from time to time (before the class hours, in-between the class hours or after the class hours) to learn various concepts with the help of visual aids and other suitable techniques. They will also come to the school social worker, whenever they feel any difficulty in social adjustment. Next, there would be a speech correctionist who may identify speech defects, develop programmes for speech corrections and execute those programmes. He may also assess the achievement for the purpose of providing feedback and carrying out desirable modifications in the programmes.

There will be a resource room and a resource teacher trained in the methodology of integrated education of the speech-and-hearing impaired children. The resource teacher has to give more direct service to the speech-and-hearing impaired children when they are in the primary standards as

they have to be given training in use of hearing-aids, auditory training, lip-reading training and speech-correction training The resource teacher will give indirect service to these children by means of preparation of visual aids, explaining concepts and removing their difficulty including remedial teaching when they reach the higher classes.

The school social worker will also help the child, his peer-group (normal) and his parents to adjust socially. The cooperation, which is very essential, will be ensured between resource teacher, and speech correctionist, school social worker and regular teacher The roles of these functionaries are discussed below.

The Role of Resource Teacher

1. Preparation and execution of resource programmes of various levels of loss of such children.
2. Consulting regular teachers for doing modification, in giving instruction and presenting materials to the speech-and-hearing impaired children.
3. Organizing and modifying curriculum for such children.
4. Preparing visual and other aids for such children
5. Arranging weekly schedule for the speech-and-hearing handicapped children.
6. Preparing cumulative records for the speech-and-hearing impaired children.
7. Creating a good atmosphere for the learning by such children.
8. Providing educational guidance and helping in education of such children.
9. Using other auxiliary services and cooperating with them.

The Role of Speech Correctionists

1. Identifying speech difficulties of children
2. Correction of speech defects.
3. Guiding and counselling parents of such children to help them at home
4. Maintainive cumulative records for such children.
5. Periodically assessing such children for feedback.
6. Cooperating with other teachers and experts

The Role of School Social Worker

1. To identify problems of social adjustment of such children and also taking care of psychological problems with the help of psychologist.
2. Helping such children by way of counselling to overcome these difficulties
3. Guiding and counselling the parents of such children
4. Maintaining records of cases of children
5. Cooperating with other staff of the school complex.

The Role of Regular Teacher

1. Assuming responsibilities for classroom instruction for the speech-and-hearing impaired children along with the normal children.
2. Identify curricular problems faced by the speech and-hearing impaired children in the regular class.
3. Informing the resource teacher, the school social worker and the speech

correctionist beforehand, his schedule of teaching for the week or the fortnight.

4. Clearing doubts, if any, with the resource teacher, the speech correctionist, the school social worker in handling the speech-and-hearing impaired children in the class.
5. Treating the speech-and-hearing impaired children normally in his class.
6. Cooperating with other staff.

Budget Estimate

Recurring		
1. Salary of the resource teacher, the speech correctionist and the social worker (Scale Rs. 650-35-860-40-1200) Rs. 1400×3×12		Rs. 50,400
2. Language laboratory, resource room, tests of school social worker		Rs. 3,000
3. Repairs and maintenance		Rs. 3,000
4. Contingencies		Rs. 5,000
		Rs. 61,400
	Or say	Rs. 61,500

Non-Recurring		
1. Establishment of resource room	Rs.	10,000
2. Establishment of language laboratory	Rs.	80,000
3. Establishment of school social worker's room		Nil
	Rs.	90,000
Total expenditure for the first year	Rs.	1,51,000
Total expenditure for successive years	Rs.	61,500 per year

It may be understood that if a school complex in which the speech-and-hearing impaired children are going to be integrated is rich in resources much of the above expenditure can be saved For example, if a school has a public address system, it can be used by the speech correctionist with minor modifications and additions of some attachments Then, we should also keep the fact in mind that we should not start integration with many sophisticated equipments which are generally kept unused. It will attract unnecessary criticism. We can build our own system keeping in view of our limited and meagre resources and special needs We cannot copy any foreign model profitably.

To the extent that integration is considered as the participation of children with disabilities in ordinary schools, it has and it should be seen as part of wider process for participation in the community. If attempted forcefully, clumsily and without planning and taking into consideration the profit to the speech-and-hearing impaired children individually, it destroys much of its effectiveness.

Integration is an unending process. There will always be ways in which the participation of the handicapped and the non-handicapped children in the social and educational life of their schools can be increased. Integration and the reform in normal education involve a succession of stages alone the route to full educational participation by the speech-and-hearing impaired children. ☐

Early Education of the Handicapped

A New Deal

ASHWANI KUMAR

CURIOSITY, the urge to find answers to basic questions, is fundamental to man Yet despite man's perennial search into the nature of fundamentals, most basic questions have remained as baffling as ever before. This is particularly true about human nature which has infinite dimensions, depths and boundaries as also infinite powers to investigate into the nature of things. However, for long, this search in the context of education was mainly concerned with normal human beings, their ideals and aspirations, their values and virtues and their place and role in the matrix of human life. The deviant, the disadvantaged and the handicapped did not bother him at all as their problems were taken for granted and ignored whole-hog It is only recently that these groups of people have attracted attention of thinkers and educationalists the world over. This has resulted in the production of a good deal of literature and setting up a number of institutions to help them meet their specific needs and life objectives But the magnitude of their problem is obviously colossal as at least one in every score of children, on an average, is disabled on one count or the other and from one extent to another

Kinds of Handicaps

Apparently, children are found to be suffering from various kinds of handicaps which stand in the way of their growth, development and education. Among others, these include :

1. The *physically disabled* like the blind, the deaf and the dumb and similar other impairments of body limbs due to genetic reasons, disease, malnutrition, accident, etc.
2. The *mentally* or *emotionally disturbed* suffering mainly from peculiar behaviour problems due again to genetic factors, illness, injury, broken home, etc.
3. The *intellectually deviant* suffering from learning deficiencies due to low intelligence, lack of motivation, interest, etc.

4. The *socially* and *culturally* handicapped including the traditionally backwards and ethnic castes, tribes, races, nomads, etc
5. The *economically backward* suffering from the curse of poverty, ignorance, ill-health, alienation, etc.

All these together point to the multidimensional and complex nature of the children's handicap on the one hand, as also that the disadvantage could be mild, moderate or serious in nature, on the other.

Need for an Educational Programme

An educational programme, therefore, has to keep the nature as also the severity of the handicap faced by every individual child in view before putting him on to the process of education. This obviously calls for a very early identification of the handicap to help him overcome initial difficulties and accordingly direct the pace of his progress. This involves, in a great deal, a kind of concerted and cooperative effort on the part of various agencies like home, school, community health centre, etc. to see that every child is properly attended to with a view to diagnosing his strengths and weaknesses to augment the possibility of his best growth and education. This diagnosis, though difficult, is urgent in the interest of proper education of the child.

This fact has, of late, been recognized in a number of countries like the USA, the USSR and a host of others in Europe where the child's education is made to commence at as early an age as six months. The need for pre-school education is also growingly being felt in our own country As such a number of creches, balwadis, per-school institutions of different nature are now gradually coming up, though with a different purpose than diagnostic or identificatory. But the fact is that their number is rather too small—like a drop in a huge ocean—let alone their age-beat which too is on a much higher side than just six months as in other countries The net result, therefore, is that in most of our primary schools, most chidren enter raw at the age of five plus or even more, without being the least prepared or identified for the work expected of them in the school. That apart, this unpreparedness on the part of children contributes, among other things, as a major factor in large-scale drop-out, wastage, stagnation and consequent intellectual retardation. This increases the number of the deprived and the underprivileged in the context of school education.

Besides, except a few serious cases, most handicapped children are admitted into these common schools for their primary education under the plea of universal elementary education irrespective of the fact that their needs are by far distinct and different from those of the normal children. They need better facilities, services and deeper training to meet their respective aspirations and capabilities In addition, nor are the teachers sufficiently trained to meet their students' individual requirements. Hence, these students are harmed in more than one way. Therefore, we have to think afresh about the whole question of the early childhood education of our wards, and especially of the deprived and the handicapped ones who need much more care and attention than paid heretofore. Should they continue to be allowed education in the ordinary primary schools, these plants need to be adequately enriched in terms of requisite facilities and equipments, tangible pro-

grammes and activities, sufficiently qualified teachers and experts, and a good deal of community resources to meet the multiple and complex demands of different groups of children on their rolls.

To meet this situation, at least four-fold programmes have to be developed, viz. :

1. The *exploratory* or *identificatory*, aiming at assessing the difficulties and the extent to which the child is handicapped.
2. The *preventive*, to see that the child is not allowed to deteriorate any further in his handicap.
3. The *remedial*, to provide cure for his handicap.
4. The *developmental*, to augment the chances of his growth and development in the desired direction.

This would be possible only if teachers and para-teaching staff are adequately and properly trained in these four fundamental postulates of development. This would naturally call for some kind of a crash orientation programme for teachers already manning our primary schools and a kind of new deal for teachers under training. Mere knowledge of psychological principles, and for that matter, initiation into the tricks of the trade may not be of much avail What is needed most is thorough grooming and grounding of our teachers in preparing and executing, singly or cooperatively, a variety of action plans and programmes of early childhood education, deemed particularly crucial in helping optimum growth of the normal as well as the handicapped children put to their charge.

This may also involve some kind of a regular, planned and adequate contact with parents of individual children, more particularly in the case of the handicapped and the disabled who require a better deal both at school as well as at home. In other words, teachers of the handicapped must not only be adept in the art of teaching normal children but also, in addition, develop expertise in handling proper education of the deprived, the disadvantaged and the disabled children. They must also develop a sense of belongingness, commitment and involvement in the profession besides intellectual curiosity to know and resolve special educational problems of various groups of pupils to build, in turn, a kind of self-confidence, a feeling of importance, or at least an urge to grow up into a learner, a citizen, a worker and a person within the limits of one's handicap in every child A formidable task indeed, though extremely urgent, to effect a new deal in early childhood education especially of the handicapped. Naturally, Special Education Institutions including the National Institute of the Handicapped have a leading role to play in not only developing necessary programmes and infrastructures but also in arresting the attention of the community and more so of the teacher training institutions to meet the new found challenges on the anvil of education, educational development and planning at institutional, state and national levels. □

Improving Evaluation at the Elementary Stage

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TILL NOW we consider evaluation as something separate from instruction. It is to declare pupils as 'pass' or 'fail', following the practice of examining the achievement of the pupils in relation to shortfall from perfection Usually the evaluation is done through questions which lay stress more on memory than development of other character traits. This age-old technique of 'one-shot affair' at the end of the year is prevalent right from the primary classes to promote children from a lower class to a higher one. This practice gained sufficient ground with the advent of British education in India Its purpose was to ascertain by means of examinations the proficiency acquired by candidates and to serve as a test of eligibility for the government service. It made education indirectly job-oriented by laying stress on passing examinations through memorization of textual information. Therefore, the concept of a minimum proficiency based on memory and 'pass' or 'fail' made its deep roots in the total system. Thus, in spite of tremendous efforts, we have not yet been able to bring substantial change or improvement in the pattern of examination. In most of our schools the pupil's achievement is assessed at the end of the year or through a few written examinations conducted at different times during the year Either because of lack of proper training, initiative, large number of pupils involved or heavy work-load, etc., the teachers make little effort to use any other process than questions and written examinations. The result is that only the 'remembered matter' is tested and nothing is done to test other qualities of head and heart.

An interesting feature of this whole process is that in some of states external examinations are still held at the end of primary stage and the annual promotion from Class I onwards is also done on the basis of some end-of-the-year test. The

students remain under constant awe and fear of the final examination. They remain fully conscious throughout the year that they are going to appear in a Board's examination at the end of the year and that if they do not memorize what they have been taught, they are likely to be declared as fail This sword of *fail* hanging over their heads, hinders the growth of their personality They are thus deprived of the satisfaction of learning and the pleasure of attainment. The only solution to this problem seems to be an internal assessment to be introduced in schools right from the very beginning. But internal assessment will only work if there is a well thought-out plan to check and counter-check its pros and cons

Improving Evaluation

In the existing system all our efforts are centred round measuring the scholastic achievement of the child. Only the subjects taught in the class are considered for evaluation Nothing is done to assess non-scholastic aspects like skills, attitudes, habits, interests and social, moral and personal qualities which play a vital role in his personality development So the psycho-motor activities are not considered for assessment or for promotion

The question is what can be done to improve the situation. The urban school teacher may be at advantage unlike his rural counterpart who is comparatively deprived of latest development in education and educational measurement. Special steps need to be taken to enrich teacher's information and knowledge through free supply of simple and useful literature in order to provide him with needed encouragement and initiative in implementing new ideas and practices. As an immediate step, it is necessary to give them training and practice in the art of writing good items and raising subject-wise item-bank in every school or atleast in a cluster of schools.

Some Tools and Techniques of Evaluation

The implementation of a well-thought-out programme requires identification and collection of a variety of tools and techniques of evaluation suited to respective conditions and objectives so that accurate and appropriate evidences on pupils' achievement are collected and made use of to improve instruction. The tools and techniques of evaluation must, however, be objective-based, valid, reliable and usable Some techniques of evaluation to cover both scholastic and non scholastic aspects of pupil growth are ·

1. Written tests based on various types of questions so that both content and objectives are covered
2. Oral tests specially in languages and arithmetic.
3. Performance tests specially in evaluating practical work, physical efficiency, etc. This is most suitable for development of practical skills
4. Activity based items This is one of the most suitable and effective tools of assessment for the primary stage.
5. Practical examinations in the subjects as related to environment
6. Oral questioning specially for the lower class provided good questions are set in advance.
7. Observation is the most appropriate technique for testing non-scholastic aspects of pupil's growth in the rural setting.
8. Behaviour tally charts, check-list, rating scale and other such tools can also be used for an objective assessment of behavioural changes. A record could be kept for further reference and improvement of the child ☐

Mathematics Teaching at Primary Level

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DESPITE sincere efforts for a number of years, learning of mathematics among students of various levels of education could not be improved up to an expected level One may enumerate several reasons for the same The performance of student's learning in mathematics at different stages has really depressed the curriculum-framers and implementors In secondary examination of various Boards, the results of mathematics have been quite disappointing On the average, hardly 30 per cent students could secure 50 per cent marks or more in this subject Knowing this, it is necessary to find out what factors are responsible for such a poor performance of students at the secondary examination. The following could be some of the factors :

1. The course-content prescribed at this stage is difficult to comprehend by students of that age.
2. Concepts, processes, etc. are too difficult and abstract
3. Instructional materials for students and teachers do not help in better learning of mathematical concepts, processes, etc.
4. Teaching-learning strategies adopted by teachers are not relevant and do not help and motivate students in understanding concepts.
5. Students do not possess clear understanding of concepts, processes, skills included in the curriculum of primary and middle stages of education.

It is really difficult to say which factor is more responsible Studies concerning evaluation of answer scripts of various Board's examinations conducted with a view to finding out types of mistakes committed by students reveal that a quite large number of students make mistakes because they don't possess clear understanding and mastery over the basic concepts, processes and skills, etc. taught to them at early stages. The mathematical concepts, pro-

cesses and skills that a child studies at early stages are crucial for his learning in mathematics at later stages.

Mathematics at Primary Stage

It has been observed that many students unfortunately start associating mathematics with boredom, drudgery, failure and fear during the very first stage of education, i e the primary stage. Many of the basic skills with which the child operates at the higher stages of education and which the child uses in his entire life are developed during the primary stage. At this stage, child should acquire proficiency in using simple ideas, concepts, etc. of mathematics in problems of daily life. The importance of good foundation of mathematics at the primary stage, thus, cannot be disputed.

It cannot be refuted that children in the beginning differ very much in their initial experiences, intellectual potential, aptitude for learning, attitude towards school, physical growth, etc. and young children learn better by doing. Having agreed on the above propositions, it follows that at the primary stage children should be provided opportunities to learn mathematics in several different settings: individual, small groups and whole class. It would help children in progressing in a natural way and with certainty. The teacher's task should be centred around the child's interest, for motivation is a necessary prerequisite to child's development not only in mathematics but in all areas of education to which he is exposed. Efforts should be made by teachers to see that a child develops and progresses with enjoyment and understanding and he develops a keen desire to continue learning. The learning of mathematics need not be negative if teachers can adopt suitable teaching-learning strategies. The strategies should be such that child experiences the thrill of solving a problem, the satisfaction of understanding computational methods, or the excitement of discovering mathematics in his environment. The teacher's aim should be to help the child feel that mathematics is not a difficult or boring subject but it is just like an indoor game. Children should be helped to develop insight into various mathematical concepts enabling them to make their application in solving problems of daily life. Teachers should adopt activities and instructional sequences to fit their individual style of teaching and the needs of their children. Activities should be adjusted to fit the abilities of children. Teacher can play an important role in helping children become problem-solvers by encouraging their physical, intellectual, and verbal involvement in mathematics. Physical involvement with concrete materials arouses children's curiosity and often leads to questions and new ideas. Intellectual and verbal involvement can be sparked by questions posed by teachers. Putting thoughts into words often helps children clarify their thinking and discover flaws in their own learning/reasoning. Questions which encourage children to think, reason, predict, seek relationships and draw conclusions are necessary for the development of problem-solving skills.

The need to provide concrete experiences for developing mathematical concepts at the primary stage is too well known to teachers to be argued in detail. The principle behind this assertion is that concepts are abstracted from concrete situations. Enough opportunities are to be provided to children for enabling them

to understand the concepts at the mastery level and develop the desired competencies. In fact, there is no dearth of concrete situations which teacher can create himself for providing better learning to children To arouse interest and motivation in children to learn mathematics, it is necessary that a wide variety of methods are adopted by teachers.

At the primary stage, the use of environment, playway activities and the low-cost teaching aids does motivate children in learning mathematics with great interest and better understanding. Teachers may also devise and use suitable games for the introduction of mathematical concepts, processes, skills, etc. as well as for the inforcement of earlier learning. The *inductive method,* which is based on concrete examples, is also helpful in bringing home to children certain characteristics and relationships. Many a times, a teacher successfully helps the child learn the concepts at the concrete level but fails to link these concepts at the concrete level to the child's work at the abstract level. Concepts learned at the concrete level do not automatically transfer to the abstract level. The teacher should make all efforts to bridge the gap between the concrete and the abstract.

At the primary stage, children may be provided opportunities to learn mathematics through concrete experiences that are problem-solving-oriented They need to experience mathematics in the environment in which they are encouraged to manipulate physical objects. Solving problems allows children to see the relevance of mathematics to everyday life. Problem-solving is an approach to teaching and learning mathematics, not a topic within mathematics. Mathematical concepts and processes should be introduced and reinforced through solving of problems so that children learn to apply mathematics. ☐

Emergence of Primary School Psychology

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THE Emergence of school psychology is the resultant of an enlarged education system and expanding science When a teacher or administrator thinks about the school psychologist as a professional person, a number of questions come to his mind. What kind of training does he have ? How is his work related to other subject specialists ? How does he work with children, teachers, administrators and parents ?

Need for Special Knowledge and Techniques

Educators have always been confronted with certain children of limited mental ability and with children whose behaviour presented difficulties which could not be handled in the regular classroom. Problems of identification and palcement of such children for special instruction pointed to the need for special knowledge and techniques.

In Europe, studies of individual differences were initiated by Galton in the later part of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, Binet did the practical task of devising intelligence tests for children His success initiated one of the most significant contributions of psychology of practical affairs; the development of test to measure ability, aptitude and achievement The testing movement had far-reaching consequences on education in the United States. And school psychologists have been, and remain, among the first to use such tests to deal with a wide variety of educational problems. Witmer established the first psychological clinic in 1896, which focussed attention on the learning problems of children. The first public school department of child study was established in 1899 in Chicago. Another major historical influence was the emergence of the mental hygiene movement in 1908

School Psychology in India

In India, however, school psychology is still in its childhood. The credit of intro-

ducing guidance movement in this country goes to Calcutta University It set up the first psychological laboratory in India in the year 1915 and a department of applied psychology in 1938 But actual work in the area of school psychology started towards the middle of 1939, by way of giving guidance to its students. This movement reached Bombay in the year 1941. The venture at Calcutta encouraged Batliboi, a retired accountant practising in Calcutta, and Mukerjee, a psychologist from Calcutta University, to establish a private agency in Bombay known as the Batliboi Vocational Guidance Bureau In 1945, Patna University also set up a department of psychological services and research The trustees of Parsi Panchayat Funds Properties, Bombay, also established a bureau for providing guidance services in 1947 The Government of Uttar Pradesh established the Bureau of Psychology at Allahabad in 1947 The Government of Bombay also gave official recognition to school psychology by establishing a vocational guidance bureau known as the Institute of Vocational Guidance. In October 1954, the Government of India, Ministry of Education, established the Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance at Delhi.

Need of the School Psychologist

Of late, it is being widely felt that need for the guidance services in schools is immense for securing better development of every individual It is important both educationally as well as vocationally As such educational and vocational guidance is now making a strong foothold in schools And since a good number of our primary and secondary school children leave the school at the end of these stages, it is quite relevant that they be acquainted with the pros and cons of their being educated further or leaving the school at this stage Besides, the school going child needs proper guidance for future. In this period his potentialities are realized, abilities and skills developed, habits and attitudes are formed and social and emotional development takes place A few problems, if left unsolved, cause a variety of disturbance in his life which result in imbalance and maladjustment of individuals in their persons vis-a-vis social responsibilities

At the individual level, main dimensions, viz academic growth, development of abilities and skills consistent with his individual capabilities and removal of subject-matter difficulties are significant Besides, vocational maturity (development of polytechnical skills and right attitude towards work) and personal-social development (self-understanding and proper adjustment to self and society) also form important stepping stones of development in this area.

In social needs too, a four-pronged guidance is called for This includes · (i) guidance for better family life (right attitudes towards home and understanding of relationship in fundamental emotional ways); (ii) guidance for good citizenship (appreciation and understanding of social values, needs, problems and issues together with developing social attitudes and habits, and learning and imbibing of group manners, loyalties, social responsibilities, fair play, etc.); (iii) guidance for conservation and proper utilization of human resource (need for an organized vocational guidance to meet the individual responsibility of reconciling individual aspirations with special demands on a basis of free individual choice), and

(iv) guidance for national service including military service.

All these point out that the need for school guidance at the elementary school is necessary because the primary stage schooling forms an important landmark in the education of our children not only for their academic growth but also for their individual or social advancement. It is the responsibility of teachers to provide the young child with opportunities necessary to master the developmental tasks which the society expects him to do and to guide his learning so that he will be able to take full advantage of opportunities they supply. No child knows what society expects of him nor does he know how to go about learning patterns of approved behaviour without the guidance from his teachers When teachers are unable to provide him proper guidance and learning opportunities, he becomes restless and unhappy due to constant thwarting of his drives. Hence primary and pre-primary teachers need to be trained to deal with children's general, educational and psychological problems and to give them proper guidance for their academic, emotional and psychological development However, trained school psychologist should be placed in every school to deal with more technical problems of children on their rolls. □

Let Our Children Play and Learn

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CHILDREN are by nature playful and happy. They are full of vigour and joy. They express and enjoy themselves through play. They reach out to the world in a constant act of discovery through play and activities making the environment a part of their life. That is why play is regarded as a creative and developing process of the child and finds an important place in various educational systems for children. Education can be made effective and efficient through playful activities well organized by schools on the psychological principles of spontaneity, joy, initiative and learning through doing. Children should be given ample opportunities of playing through which they can learn qualities of cooperation, leadership, fellow-feeling, confidence and self-reliance. In group activities and friendly interactions they can learn many things which supplement the classroom teaching

What has been Done without Play ?

Unfortunately, the children of today are made docile, tame and passive learners in the pretext of discipline. They have to accept what is offered to them and cope up with what is imposed upon them. The play is taken by them as a dream of the past, an activity of the pre-schooling stage. In spite of the pedagogical advancement and the so-called emphasis on paedocentricism, children are neglected more and more and their emotions, interests and needs are relegated to the background. We tend to make them miniature adults. In the words of Mr. A Chiba, Deputy Director, Unesco:

> It is indeed a very serious matter because of depriving children of play in school, school education tends to kill the spontaneity and initiative of children Once children come to school, they are forced to keep quiet, obey instructions and orders from teachers

Education, thus, instead of being attractive to young children, is becoming more and more imposing and constraining on their life Learning process is getting more and more dry, dreary and drab, devoid of pleasure and interest. School is becoming a place of lethargy, passiveness, inertia and disinterest. Consequently, the teaching-learning process is failing to achieve the

desired objectives, there is more wastage and stagnation, there are more drop-outs and truants; there are more juvenile delinquents and misfits in the society

What Can be Done with Play ?

Attempts should, therefore, be made to do away with these shortcomings and deficiencies by utilizing various media and materials in schools The drabness in the teaching-learning process can be minimized by adopting the play-way method. Educational plays and games will help making school activities more meaningful and interesting It will attract children, particularly from the deprived sections of the society, and make up the deficiencies in their concept-formation due to poor socio-cultural background. This will also help reduce the volume of wastage and the number of drop-outs and make the teaching-learning process more effective and efficient.

Some may raise their eyebrows and ask the question : How expensive will it be to provide thousands of schools and teeming millions of children with these materials ? Toys are the *inexpensive materials* to be used for plays and games both in and outside the classroom They can be produced at low cost or even no cost using easily and freely available raw materials There is no lack of these materials in our environment which is full of rich resources. There are many attractive but inexpensive play materials. There are expert artisans in our localities who can prepare many wonderful toys using very cheap and rejected stuffs. There are many interesting games in our society which are simple, but of great educational importance.

What Teachers and Pupils Can Do ?

The teachers should change their attitude and methods of teaching They should utilize toys and games for educational purposes They need not procure these materials only on loan or purchase basis, but should be trained to prepare themselves Workshops may be organized at regional or central levels for training teachers to make educational toys and games In the training schools pupil-teachers should be asked to prepare toys themselves with the help of art teachers and use them in practice teaching. In the school meetings, teachers should be given training in toy making with the readily and freely available raw materials and the local artists be requested to render their help in the matter

Such activities should be continuous and well integrated with the programmes of the training schools and centre meetings. The teachers should be imaginative and resourceful in devising the low-cost and simple play materials and games for young children The locally available raw materials are to be used in preparing aids like toys games and puppets. Teachers should prepare them with a view to developing in children concepts of number, colour and form, improving language and motor skills as well as health habits. It would be better if children are also involved in the work of toy-making and game-designing. Both teachers and pupils can join hands in producing educational toys and games and find this programme very enjoyable and rewarding. □

The Language Centre of Birmingham

I S. SHARMA

ENGLISH is one of the most widely used languages on the globe It is the language of international relations, trade and commerce. It was the language of administration in the countries which were once under the rule of British throne. Even after the attainment of independence by different countries, the use of English language has not decreased because of the growing inter dependence amongst various parts of the world. In India English is also used as the associate official language along with Hindi as the national language. Besides, it is used as the language of instruction, particularly at the higher stage of education in respect of science and technology subjects. So, the study of English is indispensable in order to fulfil national and international obligations. English is, therefore, being studied either as a second or a third language at the school stage in different parts of the country. A host of public schools that have grown like a mushroom in our country vie with one another in boasting of being English-medium schools from their very lowest classes.

The learning of a foreign language like English by the cross-section of population of children belonging to various cultural background, is not an easy task. The majority of children in India come from homes where English is not used at all. The mother tongue dominates the communication in the home and the community. The dearth of the instructional materials based on local culture further complicates the problem. Emphasis on the acquisition of English language skills usually remains very weak. The teachers have their own limitations. In spite of these limitations the teaching of English covers millions of children involving huge resources. If adequate return from the investment injected into the process is to be ensured, the teaching of English is to be improved considerably.

Birmingham (U.K.) also faces not identical but somewhat a similar problem. A large number of immigrant children do not have any English environment at home. The mother tongue is used in the family. But at the same time children from these families have to be acculturized through the school system where English is used as a medium of instruction. These children have to learn English at an appropriate mastery level for this purpose How the Language Centre of Birmingham functions and solves

the problem of these immigrant children for acquiring English at the mastery level and how these experiences can be utilized for improving the teaching of English in India is the main theme of this article.

The Language Centre of Birmingham

The Language Centre functions in close collaboration with the local education authority on the one hand and the Department of Education and the Department for the teaching English as a Second Language of the University of Birmingham, U.K. Its unique feature is that it provides for the consumer needs by drawing and developing resources mostly based on the assessment of the needs of the background of the pupils.

Birmingham is, perhaps, one of the heaviest concentrations of immigrant population. In its schools there are more than 20,000 children hailing from countries where English is not the first language. Many of these families come from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the newly independent countries of East Africa. All immigrant children arriving in Birmingham are directed to one of the two registration offices to arrange for their medical examinations. When the children of the primary school age have been medically cleared, they are passed on to the local schools in their areas. The children of secondary school age, if their English is good, are passed on to suitable secondary schools. If their ability in English is poor or non-existent, they are admitted to one of the three secondary age reception centres.

The Language Centre has more than 100 full-time and a few part-time teachers. Some of the staff work in the centre on a full-time basis while some of them are engaged as peripatetic teachers. There are still some who work part-time in the centre and part-time in schools The peripatetic staff visit schools and teach the children who require special help in English The children are grouped according to their ability in English They are withdrawn from their classes for periods of concentrated direct method language teaching

The time-table is so arranged to give ample time to the beginners. They may receive seven or eight sessions a week, whereas the children who attain oral proficiency but require help with written work, receive one or two sessions a week. In some schools where there are considerable number of ESN children, a teacher from this centre works with the class teachers and gives special help in the language to these children at all stages. In addition to working with withdrawal groups, teachers of the centre help in many other ways, e g by providing follow-up work for the pupils, advising class teachers on the language and cultural problems of immigrant children, working with subject and class teachers to facilitate better understanding on both sides and diagnosing the specific language needs of the children.

Teachers teaching in multi-racial schools, are assisted through in-service courses organized by the department either at the Language Centre or at schools. The subjects, number of sessions and time for these courses vary according to the needs and work-load of those attending the course.

The centre has a good collection of religious, social, cultural and geographical books of the countries from where the children come in the multi-racial schools. These books are loaned to the teachers for their use in schools. This helps in cultivating reading habits in the children. The centre

also selects some books in other subjects like biology, chemistry, scoial science, etc. which are rich in content and language both The centre has collected a wide range of reading series and has developed material for the use of teachers based on the graded vocabulary and structures Repetition of structures as well as vocabulary in different contexts have been emphasised in this material This helps the children in understanding and using these structures and words in their day to day life While developing this material, the centre has selected several themes and names from the known environments of the children Some Indian stories, Indian themes have very well been developed for teaching new structures The work-load on the centre has a one-to-one relationship with the inflow of the immigrant population

The experiences of this centre may be of great help for Indian teachers, supervisors and educational planners for teaching English as a second language in India.

Implications for the Improvement of Teaching English in India

1. The instructional material being developed and used for immigrant children in England for the teaching of English as a second language may be adapted to suit the local environment for improving the teaching of English in India. Similarly, methods and materials used for the teaching of English as a second language in Birmingham may also be adapted as per local needs.
2. Teacher's centres for the teaching of English may be established for improvement of the competence of English teachers. These centres, for the time being, can be located in the centres for continuing education of teachers being developed in different states by the NCERT.
3. Institutional collaboration between the two countries may be increased through exchange of personnel, materials and technical know-how for the use of educational technology in the teaching of English as a second language.
4. Children's literature produced in the U K. may be translated into major Indian languages.
5. The utilization of new methods and material for improvement of the teaching of English can be ensured only through continuous programmes of the in-service education of the English teachers. Language centres located in continuing education centres can be utilized for this purpose
6. The teaching of English may be strengthened in teacher training colleges for better pre-service preparation of the teachers. The use of materials and even provision of instructional materials from local resources may form an integral part of the teacher training.

Keeping in view the needs and interests of children, a lot of methods and materials have been developed in a country like the U.K where the whole environment is full of English. Why can't we develop the suitable techniques and materials for the teaching of English to our children ? If some clues and suggestions given above are taken care of, there could be a considerable improvement in the standard of English of our teachers as well as students ☐

Teaching of Correct Pronunciation in English at Primary Level

(SMT.) N KUNWAR

IN INDIA we come across many educational situations where English is taught even at the primary level. India's international economic and diplomatic position demands the primary teacher to give his attention to spoken English. Ability to speak English correctly is a skill and like every other skill it needs to be developed by practice, monitoring and re-practice As in case of other skills, the principle of 'catch them young' holds equally true in teaching of spoken English also.

English is, no doubt, taught in our schools as a foreign language But the reality that it is a library language, as well as an international language, cannot be ignored. Very often Indian spoken English is not intelligible to other speakers of English. When most of us speak 'touch', it is understood as 'dutch' by the native speakers of English; when we speak 'tear' they understand it as 'dear', when 'twelve' is spoken, it is heard as 'dwell'; similarly 'pull', 'pack' and 'pear' are understood as 'bull', 'back' and 'bear', respectively The result is often complete breakdown of communication When India is achieving an important place day by day and Indians are going to English-speaking countries in an increasingly large number as scientists, doctors, teachers, engineers, it is necessary that when we speak English, we are understood correctly. Then, and only then, we shall be able to communicate with English-speaking foreigners effectively

Spoken English presents much more difficulties than any other European language It has confused and irregular spellings which leave very little guidance for word pronunciation There is hardly a letter or a combination of letters which cannot be pronounced in more than two or three ways and quite a good number of them actually form half a dozen to a dozen different pronunciations. The rules for the utterance of sound represented by a letter or a combination of letters are fairly complicated and exceptions to rules are

particularly numerous. These considerations along with others, make a strong case for teaching correct pronunciation as early as possible. Sooker the better as mental and vocal plasticity decreases with increasing age.

Teaching of correct pronunciation includes: (*a*) utterance of correct English sounds, (*b*) correct stress, (*c*) correct breath groups, (*d*) correct rhythm, and (*e*) correct intonation.

Correct Sounds

English, like any other language, has its basic sounds, which may or may not exist in mother-tongue of the learner. For example, in Hindi, we do not have the English sound represented by 'th' in 'thin' or the sound represented by 's' in measure In the same way many English dipthong sounds do not exist in Hindi This fact presents enough difficulties. The ability to produce these sounds correctly should be developed as soon as the child comes across these sounds. For this it is essential that the teacher should himself be able to utter these sounds accurately. Any phonetic interference due to child's mother-tongue must be avoided. Enough practice should be given to learners which must be reinforced by frequent oral drill till the utterance of correct sound reaches the point of 'no relapse'.

Correct Stress

In English, when a word has more than one syllable, one of them is stressed. Three-or four-syllable words have primary as well as secondary stresses too. But at the primary stage it is advisable that first we should teach the primary stress thoroughly. There is no simple rule or method to find out which syllables of the word must be stressed. At the primary stage, it is, therefore, essential that when a two-or more-syllable word is introduced to the child, he must be made sure that he learns how the word is stressed

The word stresses also depend on its grammatical function. When the word 'project' is a noun, the stress is on the first syllable but when it is a verb, the stress is on the second syllable

Connected speech has its own system of stress. In this case, those words are stressed which are important for meaning (content words). These are generally nouns, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, principal verbs, adjectives, adverbs Structural words which generally include articles, personal and relative pronouns, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions and prepositions, are unstressed. It is a normal rule.

Correct Breath Groups

Breath groups, often called sense-groups, also constitute a prominent feature of spoken English. These groups are separated by pauses When one group is very closely connected grammatically to the next one, they are separated by a slight pause; where two groups are not thus connected, there is a longer pause between the two. A long utterance is thus broken up into shorter groups, after each group the speaker can pause for breath but not during it. These breath-groups, if broken up correctly, increase intelligibility of the speech.

Correct Rhythm

English has a characteristic rhythm which is produced by the tendency of English language due to which stressed syllables tend to occur at regular intervals. It is this

regularity of occurrences of the stressed syllables that gives English its characteristic rhythm. If this feature is neglected, the characteristic rhythm of English is lost with the result that spoken English is lost and spoken English will sound un-English. This is an important feature of spoken English.

Correct Intonation

We do not speak at the same pitch We cause variation of levels at which we pitch our voice. Sometimes we speak maintaining a normal level, at other times, we raise or lower the level of our pitch This variation of pitch in speaking constitutes intonation, which varies from language to language. The intonation also is an important feature of the spoken English. It gives a clear indication to the listener whether spoken words are a command or a request, or a question or just a simple statement It also indicates the attitude of the speaker When the words 'Sohan is kind' are spoken with a falling intonation, it means an ordinary phenomenon 'Sohan is really kind', it is nothing new to report But when the same words are spoken with a rising intonation, it means that the speaker does not agree with the fact that 'Sohan is kind', he is rather amused at the ignorance or misinformation of the listener about Sohan. In the same way rising-falling and falling-rising intonation depicts different attitudes of the speaker.

After having discussed the important features of the spoken English, we are in a position to consider ways and means of teaching correct pronunciation to our children The procedure is apparently simple but demands hard work and patient labour from our teachers The three components of an effective model of teaching spoken English including correct pronunciation are : (*i*) ear training, (*ii*) enough practice, and (*iii*) monitoring

The teacher should provide well graded, correct and enough input by way of ear training to students His own correct spoken English, including correct pronunciation, radio, taped material, TV, films—all these can go a long way in this direction Language laboratories should be fully utilized The input should be graded and enough practice must be given Traditional oral-drill comes to our rescue at this point. But, all this can prove to be useless and sometimes harmful, without an effective monitoring system which assumes the central controlling position in the proposed model. A mistake should not be allowed to go undetected, corrected then and there and correction should be practised vigorously If a mistake is repeated, it should be corrected firmly and practice of the corrected speech should be doubly vigorous.

Though there are certainly some finer points important for teaching correct speech but at the primary level their simplified version only has been discussed If followed intelligently, we can improve the teaching of correct pronunciation of English at the primary level which is the most important stage as speech habits take their roots at this stage only. □

Developing Scientific Aptitude in Students

The Role of Science Teachers

DAMYANTI S. MOSES

THE LONGING to know more is the basis of all knowledge Science is a way of thinking in contrast to a way of acquisition of a body of data, knowledge or information It is thinking and reasoning scientifically and developing a scientific aptitude

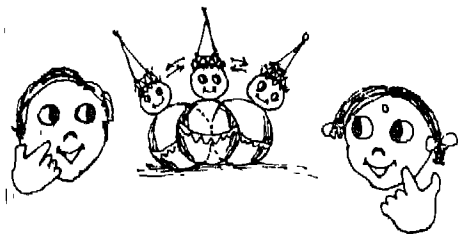
What is Scientific Aptitude ?

A science student possesses certain basic qualities, namely, inquisitiveness to ask questions and to probe deeper into any matter. He does not accept anything as gospel truth but seeks clarifications and proofs before accepting it. This is, in one sense, known as scientific attitute. But what is scientific aptitude ? It is an innate or acquired ability or talent for some specific area or field.

The methods or techniques by which scientific aptitude can be developed are varied and cannot be classified into rigid categories. Anyway, the following points should be kept in mind if the science teacher is scientific in teaching and wants the pupils to be scientific in learning These help to make science lively and fascinating and not a dull subject. These involve a series of thrilling experiences for the children as well as the teacher himself A science teacher should never snub or discourage pupils raising questions. On the contrary, he should rejoice that he has inculcated a 'scientific quest' in the pupils' mind. Science is the search for truth. A teacher should have the patience to understand the pupils' problems and clear their doubts scientifically. In science every phenomenon is taken to be scientific and it can be explained scientifically But it involves deep probing. For instance, it was only Newton who wondered 'why the apple should fall to the ground and not go up'. He was the first man to find the mystery of science behind it. Similarly, thousands of men, women and children might have seen the steam pushing the lid

off the kettle, but it was only a curious James Watt who observed it and questioned 'why' ? and never rested till he probed and found the truth behind it. He became a scientist.

A resourceful teacher not only welcomes questions from the pupils but also motivates them to ask questions. Thus instead of teaching that plants have a tendency to grow towards sunlight (phototrophy) a science teacher would take two different pots with plants and place one direct in sunlight and the other inside a room near a window The children are bound to observe that one set of plants grows normally while the other has a tendency to bend towards the window, and they might wonder 'why it should be so ?'

The teacher may encourage them to reason out by themselves and latter on come forward to explain An outmoded teacher puts questions and elicits the answers. A resourceful science teacher does not believe in feeding information but elicits questions as well as answers from his pupils The self-improvised equipments are very useful in creating interest. The teacher can make a funny doll with a heavy rounded bottom so that the centre of gravity is always within the base and show how it steadies itself and stands erect when it is tilted. The pupils are sure to watch the fun with interest; at the same time their brains wonder : Why does this happen ?

Developing Scientific Aptitude

Aptitude for science could very well be inculcated in students through some techniques which are discussed below.

Participation in Experiments/Projects by the Teacher

Pupils by nature feel elated and excited when there is some recognition shown by others, especially by their teachers. If a child is asked to bring a glass of water, while the teacher is demonstrating the solubility of sugar in water, a child is bound to feel elated. Another child can be asked to add sugar in water while yet another is given the responsibility of stirring water with a glass-rod or spoon. A resourceful teacher can think of so many ways to involve pupils in experiments and projects according to their age level For instance, a teacher teaching in class I or II the concept of 'plants around us' may ask children to bring two leaves each of different kinds of trees In a class of 40 children, at least 60 or 65 different leaves of various shapes and sizes can be collected to make the concept clear. This will be more effective than showing any number of charts and blackboard sketches of leaves

Trying out Experiments Themselves

Encouraging the pupils to try out at least a few experiments by themselves will be a very useful educational activity in consolidating the concepts taught in the class. This technique can be tried with any age-group. A simple, yet interesting, illustration can be taken regarding reproductive function of the leaves of Bryophyllum. A leaf or two may be tied with a piece of string and the pupils be asked to take care of it by sprinkling water on it by turn. When they see the new roots coming out, they learn the pheno-

menon all by themselves. Similarly, simple experiments like watching a child light two candles and covering one with a glass to see that it stops burning and that 'a candle needs air to burn and it stops burning when there is no air,' encourage primary school children to learn science In some cases children can be asked to try out experiments even before the lessons are taught. This is bound to be interesting, because any age-group will be eager to see the results for themselves A teacher may ask them to make pendulums of different lengths with objects of different weights and observe the frequency of oscillation. The pupils may compare their observations and discuss among themselves. Such a technique goes a long way in developing certain aspects of scientific attitude, namely, observation, reasoning based on hypotheses, arriving at conclusions after logical reasoning and arguing and attempting to find out the truth.

Laboratory Experiences

Laboratory experiences also play a remarkable role in the development of scientific aptitude at any level A good many laboratory opportunities can be provided by the science teacher on problems entailing formulation of hypotheses, accurate observations and conclusions on sufficient evidences to show the ways the science teacher can adopt to develop various aspects of scientific aptitude. However, we need not always visualize a sophisticated, well-equipped laboratory. A classroom or any other place where any experiment is conducted is also a laboratory It is wrong to say that laboratory experiences are for the secondary or higher secondary students. Primary school children should also be taken to the laboratory to acquaint them with experiments, apparatus or slides, etc.

Science Clubs and Study Circles

Science clubs and study circles play a significant role in developing scientific aptitude in students Brain trust, quiz competitions, improvised apparatus, cooperative experimentation, trips to places of scientific interest, nature rambles, discussions and debates on scientific topics and other co-curricular activities make the students keen observers, self-reliant, perseverant, open-minded and curious about their environments. These activities develop in them the attitudes of discovery, intellectual honesty and judgement The value of film-shows cannot be overlooked There are many organizations at the state, national and international levels which lend valuable films, film-strips and slides. The science teachers and clubs can easily procure them for their students. The science exhibition provides opportunity for pupils to exhibit their originality and achievement in science learning. Visits to such fairs enrich the experiences and inspire the pupils to be active It helps to create a deep interest in learning. The science teacher should take initiative in such activities.

Nature Study Tours

This can be undertaken as one of the activities of the science club or individual class teachers, even along with educational tours and excursions. The very young children may be taken out into the garden or the nearby wasteland and shown different types of plants, herbs, shrubs, climbers, trees, etc. or to study different communities by the side of pond or river. They should be encouraged to collect leaves, flowers, feathers, shells during such trips. Students should be encou-

raged to read and discuss reports on scientific inventions and biographies of great men of science. There are many journals which are worth mentioning in this context : *Science Reporter*, *A Quest in Education*, *Science Today* and several other magazines have regular features and articles relating to science These help to create and sustain interest and motivate them to know more This inculcates scientific aptitude in the students.

Inspirational Talks and Reading

Those who read more on science, develop more scientific aptitude as well as attitudes than those who read only the textbooks So the teacher should try to supplement the text material with other reading material connected with the topic in hand Scientific discoveries are full of historical and thrilling incidents Biographical sketches of scientists can also give students a real perspective of the work they do and the attitudes that motivate their action. While teaching a particular topic, say irritability in plants, the science teacher can inspire his pupils by giving a talk on the life and work of Dr. J.C. Bose. Such talks should enthuse the students with the way those scientists were devoted to their work

There is no hard and fast rule regarding the application of these techniques Any technique can be adopted anywhere with any age-group as the classroom situations demand.

All these activities put together constitute scientific aptitude. These cannot be achieved in a year or two It is a continuous process, nurtured and developed day by day

Recently, some American psychologists have found that in an average student only 3 per cent of the capacity of the brain is put to work Does it not imply that the remaining 97 per cent of the wonderful, most complicated system which cannot be replaced by any computer, is just left to rust ? Let science teachers wake up and bring a new life to help the innate talents and capacities of young minds blossom. Significant achievements and progress are possible only when the science teachers become *scientific* in their approach and teaching, and use the study of the subject as a valuable means to achieve the ultimate goal of developing scientific aptitude in their pupils □

Teachers Write

Lovable Toys : A Project on Educating the Handicapped Children

A CHILD is a living toy given by nature. Sometimes nature makes the child handicapped To some it is a blessing in disguise. Surdas and Milton were blind but they had the inner eyes to enjoy nature. One can be a born handicapped There are other types of the handicapped also, e.g. those handicapped during war and those handicapped by an accident or a disease.

We have started a project in our school to give a place in society to the handicapped children. Under this project a 20"× 30" almirah was made of wood having four shelves to keep toys prepared by the children. The whole work was distributed among the students of Class V. The work was allotted to each group of ten students. Forty students prepared toys for the kit under the author's guidance. The students prepared toys for the four shelves of the wooden almirah as shown in Fig 1

The first shelf shows toys of a blind child, a deaf child, a mentally retarded child and an orthopaedically handicapped child. It also has some animal toys (lion, zebra, wolf, camel, horse, giraffe, guerilla, etc) and toy birds (swan, frog, crane, duck, heron, turtle, etc.).

The second shelf depicts the fundamental rights as embodied in the Constitution of India such as : the right to equality, the right to freedom, cultural and educational rights, the right to freedom of religion, the right against exploitation, and the right to constitutional remedies The shelf also shows the fundamental duties such as : to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem, to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom; to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India, etc.

The third shelf shows that the handicapped persons can also rise to the status of Surdas and Milton who were great literary figures. It aims at inspiring handicapped children never to lose courage This shelf also exhorts that soldiers never leave the battle-field and are always ready to sacrifice their life or any part of their body to save the nation.

The fourth shelf teaches the joy of family planning. Handicapped people are also supposed to enjoy the married life A section of this shelf highlights the problem

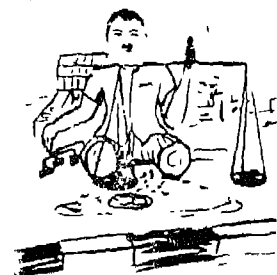
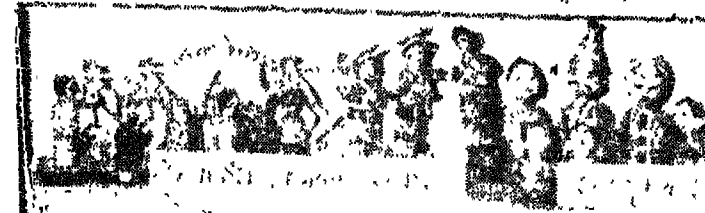
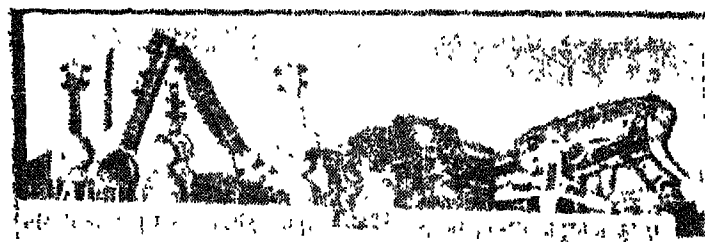
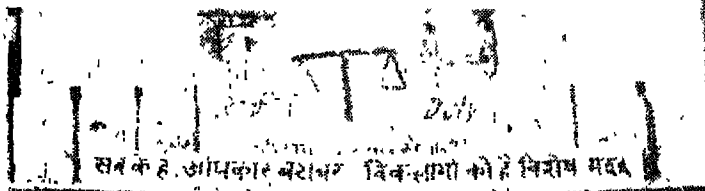



Fig. 2

of population growth and gives the slogan 'A Small Family is a Happy Family'.

Besides the four shelves of the almirah, three other pictures have been developed by the author showing how handicapped children are engaged in different walks of life (see Fig 2). A handicapped person is shown driving a tractor with one hand and his dumb wife coming with lunch for him, another is shown selling groundnut, and yet another playing hockey with the help of an artificial leg

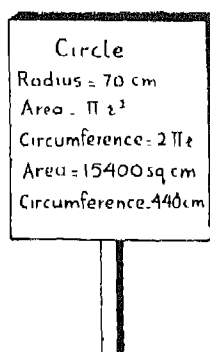
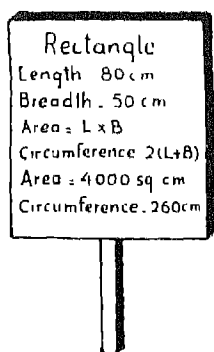
This project has proved to be useful in a number of ways .

1 Students took keen interest in preparing the toys.
2 It made them friendly towards the handicapped students
3 It is a play-way method.
4 It created the spirit of sportsmanship, nationalism and work-experience among students
5. It developed the concept of a family among students
6. Such loveable toys inspire children to be up-and-doing in their education and classroom work.

RAM SINGH KANCHAN

Teaching through a Mathematical Plot

To MAKE teaching-learning more fruitful some teachers use diagrams, sketches and illustrations. But the use of chalk and duster is more common in the teaching of theoretical and mathematical topics. This method of teaching not only leads to boredom and lacks originality in reasoning, and creativity but also creates misconception in one's mind that mathematics is not purposeful Hence, to facilitate active learning the author has designed a 'mathematical plot' in his school which is discussed below

A plot in the school can be selected. The beds around the plot should be designed in such a way that each of them represents a geometrical figure—rectangle, square, triangle, right-angled triangle, circle. The whole class may be divided into suitable number of groups keeping in view the social relationship, attitude and the intelligence of the students. The students will work on the plot according to a planned programme. The teacher will manipulate the situations for eliciting the best from them. Each group will design the bed on the allotted space. They will measure the dimensions of the bed and from these measurements they will find the areas and circumference of the bed Then a sign-board, showing the name of the diagram, formula for the area and circumference and actual dimensions, will be framed and fixed on the bed (as shown in the diagram). The beds can be interchanged among the groups to verify the the recorded data according to the time

available. Then the teacher will formulate various questions, based on the factual data, on areas and circumference of different geometrical figures The results will also be recorded on the sign-boards. The recorded data can be used to formulate questions on unitary method, average, profit and loss, percentage, etc. at the required time. The sign-boards will be fixed on the beds daily. It should be mentioned here that there is no rigidity for the dimensions of the figures and the plot. Even the beds can be designed round the play-grounds

In this way the students will engage themselves in a fruitful activity They will handle instruments to record some data, calculate the results and verify them with each other. The teacher will tackle the incomplete and partially responded situations by giving some clues and hints. The practical field-work and 'guided problems' will stimulate creativity and intellectual habits. The indifference of students towards mathematics can only be reduced by involving them in some problem-based activities which will form a base for solving other multifarious problems also. □

HEM RAJ GARG
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News and Views

School rolls on the decline

THE DECLINE in school attendance at elementary as well as school secondary levels is growing to be a phenomenon of alarm in the near future not only in our own country but also in foreign lands This is obvious from the news reports being made every now and then For instance, this trend is becoming progressively visible in Kerala in India. Its good number of primary schools seem to be faced with the problem of closure and consequently its teachers with the problem of being 'surplus' This phenomenon of falling school rolls is also visible in other countries as well

A study entitled 'The management of change at time of falling school rolls . A pilot study', (Macmillan, Edinburgh) conducted by Ian MCFa-dyen, an ex-divisional education officer of Unesco also reveals the same fact in the case of a number of Scottish secondary schools. Here the magnitude of decline between schools is between 30 per cent on an average and 60 per cent in the case of inner-city schools The problem of decline obviously has deep-seated side-effects like affecting the teachers' promotion policy and prospects, teacher-taught relationship, etc.

Although this observation is going to tell on the nature of schooling, a timely study made by Gene V Glass and May Lee Smith entitled 'Meta-analysis of research on the relationship to class-size and achievement' (San Francisco 1978) raises a ray of hope towards enriching the cause of education in smaller class size. This study reveals that smaller classes show higher achievement than the larger ones The achievement begins to be the worthwhile "when a class size of 20 or less is compared with that of 40 or one of 15 with that of 25". This effect becomes quite substantial when the class size is as small as 10 or even 6.

Resultantly, if any marked improvement in achievement scores is to be obtained, the class size has to be reduced at least to such an extent where each pupil can receive a good amount of individual attention in the teaching-learning situation. The smaller the size of the group the better would be the teacher-taught relationship as also teaching and achievement.

Correlating the findings of these two studies one would obviously not be bogged down by the problem of declining class rolls and surplus teachers. On the contrary, this situation could be maximally exploited to make school education more effective and

lasting through making tangibly viable class units.

Education through Computer

SCIENCE has done a great deal of work in training teachers in the new technologies. Like other teaching-aids, computer is now being exceedingly used as a direct aid for learning and teaching of students in various parts of the world. The use of computers is expanding so rapidly that their presence can no longer be denied or ignored. It is now being felt that introduction of computer literacy would have a liberalizing influence in schools, by making teachers sensitive to and ultimately capable of utilizing the computer for improving the effectiveness of instructions.

Micro-computers in British schools

The United Kingdom has a world lead in computers in education. The Microelectronics Education Progamme (MEP) was initiated in Britain in 1980-81 with the two main aims: (*a*) to help children understand the technology, its uses and its effects on society, and (*b*) to encourage teachers to use the technology in improving the effectiveness of their teaching. The programme covered all curriculum subjects and provided for children of all ages. The programme also considered the need of children of all ability levels. The British educational computing technology and software are more developed than anywhere else in the world. Now the British Companies are starting to look for the transfer of this knowledge to markets outside Britain.

The micros in schools schemes have been principally concerned with the provision of equipment to schools. In the past, British schools had been reluctant to spend money on computer equipment. In 1980, the first scheme covering secondary schools enabled every secondary school to buy one of the two selected computer packages at half-price, with the difference being met by the British Government. At present every secondary school is having at least one micro-computer. This scheme was also extended to primary schools in 1982 and it *is hoped that by the end of 1984, at the* latest, every primary school will have a micro-computer.

Micro-computers in our schools

The Department of Electronics, with the cooperation of the Union Ministry of Education, is launching a programme for computer literacy and studies in schools on a national level. A pilot project has been formulated to introduce computers into 250 schools during the financial year 1984-85 The programme is likely to be extended to other schools after the completion of the pilot project. Also, the Physical Research Laboratory (CSIR) Ahmedabad, is developing a low-cost speaking computer for computer-aided education in schools At present, we are importing such computers in large numbers from Britain. The indigenous computer will be connected to a colour television set and will generate cartoon films and coloured pictures Speaking in human voice, in Englsh, Hindi or any regional language, the 'home computer' will be fitted with a professional piano with mega-characters of storage capacity

Schooling results in polarization

In most countries many children of the school-going age are handicapped in respect of job opportunities and other considerations. It is painful to see how children who remain out of school or are in a way unable to learn at school find it a bit difficult to look for ways of earning their living. This is particularly because schooling increases in an alarming way social stratification gap between the school-going and out-of-school children. This results in further polarization of society. This observation was made by Unesco's Deputy Director-General, Takehide Yokoo, at the end of his recent visit to a few countries like Thailand, Nepal, India, Srilanka and Singapore in the Asian region. He remarked that "unemployement is due not simply to economic and industrial development of society but also due to the nature of education as a double-edged sword holding the power of life and death over children Education helps positively those who receive it and affects negatively those who are kept away from its benefits There is indeed a lot to be done in order to bridge the obvious gap emanating from the two extremes, that is, of education and deprivation of education. This seems to be a global problem for educational planners and administrators □

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TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

We invite our readers—the primary teachers—to contribute to this journal profusely. The articles/features, clearly typed out in double space on one side of the paper only, should be sent to the General Editor, *The Primary Teacher*, Journals Cell, NCERT, NIE Campus, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016.

Improving Primary Education

V.S. MATHUR

ACCORDING to the constitutional provisions it is imperative to provide free and compulsory education for all children till they reach the age of 14. This stage has, for the sake of convenient implementation, been divided into two stages, first from 6 to 11 (Class I to V) and second from 11 to 14 (Class VI to VIII) The first attempt has been to provide facilities for the earlier age-group Today about 90 per cent children in the age-group 6 to 11 are in schools. As things go this is good statistical progress although we are just about 25 years too late.

Neglected Area

However, the fact remains that much still remains to be done before the nation's primary schools can be made as good as they should be. Primary school buildings, primary school equipment, staffing pattern, curriculum, teaching methods and pupil achievement as available today, are no credit to free India Although, theoretically, the most important, being foundational, in practice primary education is the most neglected 'area' in the whole system.

And my feelings of disappointment deepen when I review the present state of things against the background that the primary stage is the only stage through which eventually every Indian child will have to pass. This to my mind is the stage which really regulates the quality of the higher stages in education

It is, therefore, imperative that if we want to improve the image of Indian education, we must attend to the improvement of *primary education on top priority* basis. The following suggestions are offered for the consideration of the educational authorities of the state governments as well as for the custodians of the educational policies at the centre :

1. It must be realised at once that in order

to give a strong base to primary education, we have to evolve a strong system of pre-school or nursery education. This is an item which has not so far attracted sufficient public or governmental attention. Some nursery schools exist mainly in the urban areas. One or two years of nursery education is very necessary before a child is introduced to formal schooling at the age of six.

This is a stage where community cooperation can be utilised to the maximum. It might be a good idea to attach a pre-primary section to every primary school, where tiny tots may participate in fruitful activities for a couple of hours every day. The *idea is not to start any formal* schooling. It is too early for that. It is only intended to introduce some discipline in the young lives and lay the foundations of good habits.

2. In order to provide adequate facilities for primary education, it is necessary that a major part of both the plan and non-plan expenditure is reserved for primary and pre-primary education. If I had my way, I would reserve about 75 per cent of the money for this purpose for about ten years to come The task is so collosal that help will also have to be solicited not only from local bodies but also from the local community but without pre-conditions and mostly in the shape of material resources There should be no interference in the educational work.

3. The staffing pattern will also have to undergo drastic change and the teacher-pupil ratio will also have to be substantially improved. This is the one stage where individual attention is needed most besides a healthy and deep teacher-pupil relations. We have to adopt policy to have a maximum of 30 pupils to a teacher. A system of part-time teachers could be experimented with at the primary stage Perhaps many ladies may opt for this The present phenomenon of single-teacher schools and multiple class teaching comes most reprehensible at this fundamental stage.

4. It is common knowledge that it is largely during the first few years in a child's educational career that foundations in individual skills and understandings are laid. In short, this is the stage when the child is initiated to speak, listen with understanding, read, write, observe, *calculate and solve problems. To this* I would add the quality of objective thinking

I feel, therefore, that the development of linguistic, numerical and observational faculties should be put uppermost at this stage. It is no use over-burdening the child with multifarious activities in order to be 'modern'. I would, therefore, suggest that in the first four years of a child's schooling an attempt should be made to emphasise mainly reading, writing and arithmetic, besides giving him opportunities to observe, think, and express. Four to five hours schooling in these items every day should enable a child to cover good ground and have linguistic and arithmetical ability which a child usually achieves in six years. This should give him a good start and solid background.

The Russian example of the *three-year primary school* is already with us. According to my scheme, four years of basic curriculum will give a child sufficient background for the serious and

diverse curriculum of the middle and the high school stages that the child will meet later on.

This would mean that the new primary school will be a four-year affair, instead of five, with a modified programme, followed by a four-year middle school programme, instead of three. We need to add education to years.

5 I would also suggest a system of increased open air instruction for primary school students. It is criminal to confine small children to the usual dull and dingy atmosphere of the classroom for long periods Open air education combines fresh air with informal instruction. I have been highly impressed by a similar experiment in open air instruction by some Russian headmasters, where children are taken out into the fields and asked to observe and then draw flowers, birds, leaves and insects. I would suggest that a primary school pupil should spend about 40 per cent of his schooling time in fresh air where he should hear stories, converse with nature and observe things, besides participating in other fruitful activities. Book reading needs to be reduced to the necessary minimum but the quantum of oral work and written work be increased.

Epilogue

It will be seen that my main anxiety is to initiate some fresh thinking regarding primary education and initiate new experiments in primary schooling. I am quite sure that with fresh improvement in the organisation and curriculum, primary schools will not only lead for better standards in higher stages but also make 'teaching-learning' an enjoyable and refreshing affair

It comes natural that the primary school teacher is imbued with sincerity and sense of service besides professional competence. Here is a case for a renewal of our thinking on the salary scales of teachers as well as for re-orienting the teacher education programmes, both pre-service and inservice The primary teacher should accept the importance of his task. All this poses a great challenge to our national thinking. The earlier we accept the challenge, the better will it be for the future of our country and its people. Let us put primary education at the top of our national priorities. ☐

Classroom Instruction—Needs of the Disabled

N.K. JANGIRA
K.B. RATH

DISADVANTAGED child is the most talked about subject these days. Disabled children constitute one group under this category. The IYDP can be considered to be successful in the sense that it stimulated the States to plan and implement programmes for the integration of the disabled into the socio-economic fabric of the society by way of providing education, care and rehabilitation facilities. The integration, it is believed, should start from the family, through immediate community and school to the world of work Integrated Education for the Disabled (IED) is one of the most potential programmes for reaching out this group of the young in rural and urban areas. In our own country the programme is gaining ground in pursuance of the National Policy on Education and National Policy on Child The development of infrastructure, including curriculum, instructional materials and preparation of teachers, is underway.

Operational Modalities

The development of the infrastructure and plans for Integrated Education for the Disabled will remain on paper until operational modalities for the implementation of this scheme and working out functional teaching procedures in regular classrooms with adjustment to the special needs of the disabled children are conceived. There is no doubt that such adjustment will depend on the type of disability as well as its magnitude. But even then it is possible to lay down guidelines for selecting/adopting/adapting instructional procedures to their specific needs Towards this end specific task analysis in the context of a particular disability will have to be carried out and learning experiences to be provided to these children will have to be operationalised.

Task Analysis

The task analysis may be in terms of

(a) components and subcomponents of the learning task; (b) instructional objectives for covering the components, subcomponents of the learning task, (c) learning experiences which can be provided by a regular teacher in the regular classroom in a regular lesson along with normal children;(d) learning experiences which will have to be provided in the regular classroom along with instruction for normal children with adjustment for sensory or cognitive deficits arising out of the disability; and (e) learning experiences which will have to be provided to the disabled child outside the regular classroom, may be in the resource room. The latter three types of learning experiences combined together should be in a position to help this child to learn optimally according to his capacities, taking into account the deficits arising out of the disability

One can consider a simple example to illustrate this type of approach for instructional planning and for carrying out instruction for the disabled child placed in the regular classroom Let us take a blind child in the regular classroom. Primary operations for addition and subtraction of positive numbers up to 9 are to be taught to the class, using the numberline.

The prerequisites for the children for this task are that they can locate numbers on the numberline, they have acquired the concept of numbers up to 9, and they also have been exposed to the addition and subtraction operations with concrete objects without carry over and borrowing. The purpose of the present learning task is to help the child transfer the experience of adding and subtracting with concrete objects to numbers on the numberline It is envisaged that the child can develop understanding that for addition of numbers on the numberline, he should (a) select the first number on the numberline; (b) count exactly corresponding to the second number on the right of the first number on the numberline; and (c) record the number he reaches and write the answer. For example, in order to add numbers 2 and 4 (2+4) the child locates number 2 on the numberline, counts 4 on the right-hand side of number 2 on the numberline and reaches 6. So, the answer is recorded as 6 (2+4). The process has been shown in figure 1.
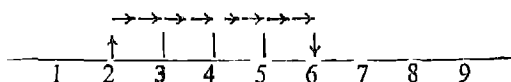
Fig. 1

For subtraction, the child (a) locates the first number on the numberline; (b) counts back on the left of the first number corresponding to the second number or from the number to be subtracted; and (c) records the number he reaches and writes the answer. For example, to solve 6 — 4, the child locates 6 on the numberline, counts 4 backward on the left side of number 6 on the numberline, and reaches 2. So, the requisite answer is two (6—4=2). The process has been shown in figure 2
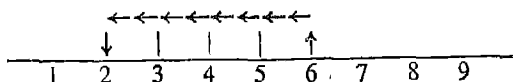
Fig. 2

The task analysis up to this point can be described as in figure 3.
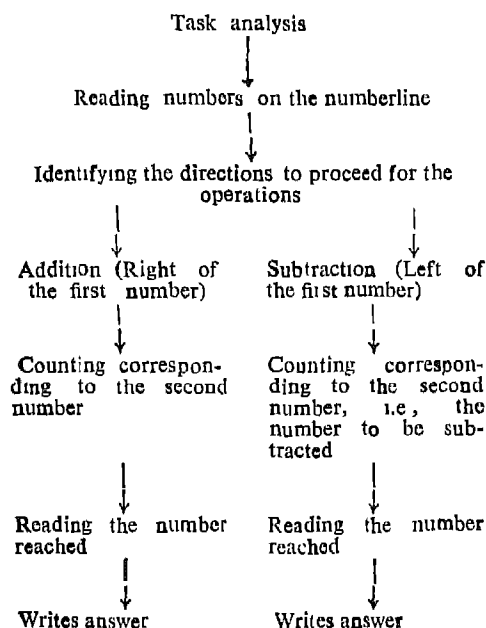
Fig. 3

Considering the task analysis, the following instructional objectives can be stated for this learning task :

1. After completing the learning task, out of the given five sums of addition of two numbers from 1-9 without carry over the child is expected to do all the sums using the numberline correctly in five minutes.
2. At the end of learning task, given five sums of subtraction involving two numbers from 1-9 without borrowing, the child is expected to do all the sums correctly, using the numberline.

Instructional Objectives

In order to realise the instructional objectives, it is desirable to select instructional procedures for teaching the blind children along with sighted children in a regular class For this purpose learning experiences can be classified into three categories : (a) experiences which can be provided by the regular teacher in the regular lesson along in the regular classroom, with normal children, (b) learning experiences which will have to be provided in the regular classroom along with instruction for normal children with adjustment for sensory deficit arising out of blindness, and (c) learning experiences which will have to be provided to the blind child outside the regular classroom may be in the resource room

The sighted children will be exposed to the numberline on the blackboard and in their notebooks, when the teacher is explaining the numberline and the location of numbers on it The additional requirement for the blind child will be an embossed numberline prepared in the resource room. The numbers will be labelled with respective numbers at appropriate places either as embossed numbers or in braille in Nimeth code. When regular children look to at the blackboard as the teacher explains the numberline, the blind child will refer to the embossed numberline provided to him. For using this, a teacher provides instructions right in the beginning as to how he can get along as he works out the use of the numberline for addition and substraction operations He carries out different operations demonstrating on the blackboard for the sighted which will be followed by the blind child on the embossed numberline. He may also be helped in this by his sighted peers sitting with him. When the teacher gives a problem of locating numbers on the blackboard, the

blind child will be asked to locate the number on the embossed numberline in front of him The operations then can be taught using the blackboard for the sighted children and the embossed numberline for the blind children. For making the concept of numberline clear to the sighted as well as blind children the teacher can also adopt an activity where the children themselves are considered as numbers on the numberline. Each gets a number and the children can be asked to locate numbers on the numberline represented by the children themselves. Operations can be performed on this simulated numberline. The adjustment for the blind child will be that the sighted peers will be counting the number of children between two target numbers involved in the problem of addition or substraction while the blind child, on his turn, will be performing this operation by counting by touching the number of the students falling between these two reference numbers. This type of activity can be planned for other areas, too. □

Un-English Expressions in English Books

INDIRA KULSHRESHTHA

THE International Year of Child began with a bang. There were book-fairs, there were special publications meant for children, there were exhibitions, there were competitions, and what not. I didn't want to lag behind, so I thought of an easy way of at least pleasing my nieces and nephews. After-all, they are as much the future citizens of India, and above all, charity begins at home. I went to the book-shops and bought a few dozen children's books. Almost all of them were beautiful to look at. I was really pleased with myself and since in my childhood I didn't get such attractive reading material, I thought of burning midnight oil and reading them Better late than never, I told myself. So, there I was, all set to read those books. But with that began the tale of woe. It seemed that the 'fortune was against me'. Please, please listen to me, till I have 'wept out the whole story' and have 'come to the end of my tears'.

After I finished reading those few dozen books, I really was 'dreadfully tired' and '*very fed up*' with reading. I could pity my nieces and nephews who had already developed a 'dreaded dislike' for reading any material at all Believe me, I heaved '*a huge sigh of relief*' when this ordeal was over. I immediately wanted 'to go right back to sleep' (as if I only woke up to do this maddening task !) Now I was capable of 'seeing stars in broad daylight' and I haven't recovered from the shock as yet.

Well, I admit that English is not my mother tongue, but I still wonder 'what need is there to know' as to what happened to the young man who could 'slice you down' with his sword, or to the wife who, according to her husband, retorted 'like a sword meeting the shield', or to the coward who was always 'ready to die with fright' or even to the doctor who was 'always dealing in the diseases of the heart'.

While I was trying to assimilate all this, I came across two brothers who 'married and by and by became fathers'. Don't you think that they were sensible enough not to hurry and worry for children ? There was a son, as good as Shravan Kumar, who was 'thorou-

ghly ashamed' of his acts and wondered: *with what face can I go before my father?* I really felt sorry for the gentleman who *'wanted others to regard him with respect.* These books had a jackal who 'thought and thought fast', a minister who 'thought of a scheme, and the princess agreeing to it, they were taken to the highest tower of the fort'.

Oh God, there were plenty of them, I mean the un-English expressions in these books that were written by some well-known and others by lesser known writers. They were lucky, or the children were most unlucky, that they could get good publishers, who were happy to have these gems to decorate their publications

Even a teacher of English, if he keeps on reading such 'unenglish' expressions, would get confused about the correctness of his own expressions and be forced to consult dictionary several times. The question that stares us in face is whether the young readers should be exposed to such samples of language?

There is a good number of series of such books which have already done enough harm to the learning of this language in India Whatever little English the children learn in their classrooms, is washed out through the torrential usage of un-English expressions.

English occupies a very special place in the educational and administrative structure of India. It has creditable importance as compared to the study of mother tongue, acquiring a recognizable place in the school curriculum. The Radhakrishnan Commission has reported.

"English is the means of preventing our isolation from the world, and we will act unwisely if we allow ourselves to be enveloped in the folds of dark curtains of ignorance. A sense of *oneness of the world is in* the making, and control over the medium of expression which is more widespread and has a larger reach than any one of our languages today, will be of immense benefit to us"

The three-language formula has been accepted in our country as a national policy. A child, at the completion of ten-year schooling, is expected to be competent in the first language (mother-tongue), be able to understand and express himself in the second language (regional language), and be able to comprehend the third language in its printed form. The third language should usually be English, though it could be any other foreign language.

With this position of English in our school curriculum, there is hardly a chance for a child to enrich command over English language except through reading because its teaching is restricted to a great extent. While the success of a child in mustering his native language is taken for granted, the circumstances and success of the second language cannot be predicted so easily. A child automatically learns the first language (mother-tongue) as this is the only effective way of expressing his needs and desires or sentiments and feelings, whereas in learning a second language this compulsion is missing. It is perceived through the habit channels of his native language. Thus English has been assigned a functional role in our educational system. It is primarily a 'library language' through which a learner gains an access to the ever-growing accretions to difficult fields of knowledge.

Indian children are exposed to literature in English within these limitations. And this is enough reason to discover some standards by which children's books, as a

part of literature, can be so judged. Children's books do not exist in vacuum, devoid of and unrelated to literature as a whole In evaluating children's books, the conviction should be: this 'is' literature of value and of significance. This is an essential approach. These books need to be discussed as literature and not as tools or commodities. Children's literature, according to Lillian Smith, "is not a pedantic or an academic study. It is joyous, fruitful and essentially a rewarding field" Hence the purpose of looking at these books critically may not be the 'dry analysis' but the joy of discovering the skill of the author in attracting the child and sustaining his interest. Shiela Egoff says The role of literature is to help develop the individual and it takes a good book to do this A poor book takes the child and puts him back a step or two, a mediocre book takes the child and leaves him where he is. A good book promotes an awareness of the possibilities of life, the awakening of response.

Gregson has observed that,

> Some teachers have the attitude : it does not matter what they (children) read, so long as they read.

This view remains so widespread that it deserves consideration In two important respects it seems to be acceptable and sound. In the first place, it lays stress on 'enjoyment' as the essential ingredient in reading, and in the second, it indirectly suggests that active participation by the reader is necessary if books are to become a vital part in life.

This argument seems to be an extreme as it 'is' desirable to examine books before they are passed on to children because a poor book is as capable of developing a distaste for reading as a good book is of developing a love for reading. In the case of Indian children it is all the more necessary because English is not their mother-tongue and if once they develop a distaste for reading books in English, it would be difficult to persuade them to read such books later on. There are more children's books available nowadays than ever before. Many of them set extremely high standards and are quite cheap too The variety is so bewildering that teachers often tend to complain that there are too many In view of this situation it seems a pity that any child should grow up to think of reading as another bit of unwelcome drudgery that may be imposed on him by his school or any one else.

Let us not allow our children to be exposed to such usages, and in order to do so, all of us will have to join hands—the educationists, the publishers, the authors, and the teachers. Let the educationists prepare the norms and the tools for analysing these books. Let the publishers get every book examined by the experts at the manuscript stage Let the authors of these books realize their responsibility and offer the best to the young readers And let the teacher himself go through the books before recommending them to the students. One needs to distinguish a tree in the forest, i e, select a good book for children from amongst so many that are scattered around. □

Mathematical Creativity—A Teaching Model

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THE present system of education is a mechanical affair. The job of the teacher is to cover the syllabus within the prescribed time through the quickest method possible This makes education unmeaningful both for the teacher and the taught. Therefore, it is necessary to make educational activities more meaningful, more purposeful and creative both for the teacher and the taught. This need can only be met when effort is made to develop and use appropriate teaching models in the classroom

The development and use of appropriate teaching models important for the child is to be developed as a creative learner. The child who is trained to think creatively not only finds himself a better acquirer of knowledge, but also a better user and producer of new knowledge Memorization which is not coupled with understanding and is often given the name of rote learning, dulls the thinking abilities of the child. If creative thinking abilities of the child are not developed during the formative period of the child's life when he is in school, they get stunted and have little chance to develop later. In these days of science and technology mere acquisition of more and more knowledge is not enough for them to adjust to the ever-changing situations of life and to orient themselves to the new ways of living for the successful accomplishment of their life goals. Emphasis has, therefore, to be laid on the development of thinking abilities, specifically mathematical creative thinking abilities. This can be done, again, if the teacher makes use of appropriate teaching models, which develop mathematical creativity among children.

An important factor which has to be considered by the teachers or teacher

educators in the preparation and use of appropriate teaching models is the nature of the content matter to be taught in schools. Obviously, we cannot teach science as social studies, nor mathematics can be taught as language. Mathematics teaching requires more emphasis on the process rather than the product aspect. Therefore, creative teaching models should be selected to teach mathematics. The success of the teacher depends on the suitability of teaching models that he selects to teach the content matter to the students.

The fundamental elements of a teaching model for use of mathematics teacher at the primary stage are as below .

Focus

1. To develop an ability to formulate mathematical hypotheses concerning cause and effect in a mathematical situation
2. To develop an ability to consider and evaluate unusual ideas in mathematics and to think about their consequences in a mathematical situation.
3. To develop an ability to draw a large number of conclusions from a given mathematical statement.
4. To develop the ability of inductive and deductive reasoning.
5. To develop an ability to analyse mathematical problems.
6. To develop an ability to solve mathematical puzzles.

Structure

To see the effectiveness of the model, the following activities will be done by the mathematics teachers. The model consists of seven phases.

First Phase : The students will be familiarised with the concepts and principles of addition, substraction, multiplication, etc , and formula of mathematics.

Second Phase : The problems will be analysed with the help of students.

Third Phase : Students will be initiated to develop hypotheses relating to mathematical situations.

Fourth Phase : Students will be motivated to solve mathematical puzzles.

Fifth Phase . Students will be motivated to collect data for the verification of hypotheses.

Sixth Phase : Formulated hypotheses will be verified in terms of logical sequences

Seventh Phase : Generalizations will be drawn about the solutions of the problems.

Social System

This model is based on the process of mathematics. The teachers are required to generate free and intellectual environment and encourage the students to participate and express their views. There would be open discussion among the students and teachers on creative problems of mathematics

Support System

The teacher's job is to help the students in dealing with creative problems of mathematics. The teachers should encourage the students in formulation of hypotheses and processing of data for the verification of hypotheses.

Some Examples

1. How to make 0 to 5 numbers by using four three's at a time ?
2. How to make 9 by using 3 ?

3. Find out the square numbers which will be equal to four times the square of another numbers.

4 If the area of a parallelogram is 2744 square feet, what can be the leangth and width of the parellelogram ?

5. What is the number of regions that can be obtained by joining 3,6 and 9 points on the circumference of a circle ?

6. In some cases, if we cancel the same number in a fraction, we get the right results, e g.

$$\frac{65}{26} = \frac{5}{2} = \frac{65}{26}$$

$$\frac{126}{21} = 6 = \frac{126}{21}$$

$$\frac{19}{95} = \frac{1}{5} = \frac{19}{95}$$

Find out the other fractions of the same characteristics

Problems like these provide a chance to free play with numbers.

LESSON PLAN

Teacher : DIVISION

Pro-blem: If multiplication of any two numbers is 75, find out the numbers

Teacher: What is given in this problem, Rama ?

Rama: Multiplication of any two numbers is 75, is given in this problem.

Teacher: Good. What is to be found out, Hari ?

Hari: We have to find out those numbers whose multiplication is 75.

Teacher: Well. How can we find out, Ramesh?

Ramesh Silence

Teacher: You are given that multiplication of any two number is equal to 75. You can choose arbitraily one number, then divide 75 by this number. The quotient will be the another number If you multiply the arbitraily chosen number with the quotient, then you will get 75 again which is given in the problem. Think of such types of numbers and also you can choose fractions, square roots, squares, etc. (At this stage the teacher must help the students individually to select different but original number).

Zafar: Sir, I have found pairs of many numbers whose multiplication is 75.

Teacher: Good. Come here and write all the pairs on the blackboard whose multiplication is 75.

Zafar: 15×5

25×3

$5^2 \times 3$

$5^2 \times \sqrt{9}$

7.5×10

$\frac{100 \times 3}{\sqrt{16}}$

Teacher Very good You can also search out other pairs of numbers whose multiplication will be 75. □

Learning Through Dramatics

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IN recent years dramatic play has come to stay as a powerful instrument to guide and direct creative experiences of the school-going children.

The old practice with regard to play was that the class teacher used to initiate, select, teach, direct and evaluate. The result was a stilted self-conscious performance with little meaning for the child But in the contemporary school the stress is on the process of play, not on the finished result. Dramatic play is not another subject added to the curriculum; rather, it is another approach to the contemporary curriculum.

Dramatic play is for every child, because it gives an opportunity to the school-going children to develop and express their emotions. The values of creative dramatics are probably greater than those of any other creative activity.

Dramatic play is the most natural situation in which the children can feel and express any emotion through the various characters they play Play furnishes an excellent learning situation. for it brings information into a most meaningful situation and relates it in a unified whole.

As we have observed, some pupils naturally play more imaginatively than others, whereas the majority of children are shy, timid, self-conscious or stolid and unimaginative and therefore the school has a special responsibility in this direction. The retiring child must be given confidence so that he expresses his thoughts and feelings freely. The value of play should be recognized and justified as a device for learning certain material in the school curriculum.

The material for play may be anything in the curriculum in which the pupils are interested to play. Stories have always been the main source of plays. It is true that the children familiar with a story often want to experience it themselves in play. In this free interpretation they live the character's lives and occasionally impro-

vise incidents consistent with those in the story.

Children are always enthusiastic to learn about the people around them and also about the people far away and identify themselves (children) with them (people) through play.

Dramatic play serves as a basis for developing proper attitudes Attitudes have been found to be best developed indirectly and through specific situations. When actual experiences are impossible, the experiences of dramatic play offer an excellent substitute.

Form of Dramatic Play

The usual form is simply informal play, specially in the primary grades At higher grades it involves costumes, scenery and the dialogue written out. There are, however, variations of the usual form of the play

Pantomime

Pantomime is interpretation through bodily action only It is highly useful for the children who are timid, as it relieves them of the necessity of speaking before the group untill they have gained some confidence "Shadow acting" is another form of this, in which the children's shadows are thrown on a screen by a strong light.

Marionettes and Puppets

By the time the children come to the fourth grade, they are likely to develop an interest in puppetry. By this time the child is just pretending to be someone and so can interpret his ideas through puppets and through bodily activity. The simplest form of puppets is the stick puppets. These are nothing but cut-out figures attached to the end of a long stick They may be used to dramatize little stories where each child manipulates one figure "Fist Puppets" are quite simple to operate and so will probably be used next. A head attached to a gown with sleeves is placed on the hand and operated with the thumb and two fingers Thus the head and the arms and the whole body can be moved singly or together.

Marionettes are more difficult to manage. They are nothing but jointed dolls with four to six strings attached. The strings are attached to sticks in pairs so that the doll may be made to move in any way desired. Puppetry is an art in itself and discussion of it often includes both marionettes and puppets There are many excellent books that give simplified directions for making and operating them

Lastly, considering its practical value, dramatic play should be made compulsory in all schools so that school children can express their emotions better and understand social skills in effective manner. ☐

Understanding Counting Numbers

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NECESSITY, first of counting and then of computing sets and their elements in nature, has been the mother of inventions of all number systems The concept of 'numbers' is the basis on which the whole structure of our Mathematics is built. The base has to be stronger so that the children may understand and adapt to the superstructure of the subject with stimulating interest and exciting ease The concepts have to be related to the day-to-day school and domestic surroundings and activities so that they are able to explore, investigate and discover the facts in a natural way

When the child formally enters the four-walls of the school, he is made conscious, for the first time, of the 'Natural Numbers' and their counting so that he may identify the number of objects in a given group or develop an ability to make out a group of a specific size or strength out of several other groups of strengths of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 obtained in nature, i.e., Natural Numbers which are also called Countable Numbers. The immediate objective is that the child might comprehend the idea of comparisons such as more, less, fewer, etc., through recognition of given collections

A series of low cost aids, in initiation of nature, may be developed sequentially to enable the children to visualise concretely the concept of 'Numbers' and to do their counting with the help of the materials made available or discovered in the immediate environment.

Cut-outs of 'Number' symbols or figureis from old calendeis may be pasted on a chart paper into squares of ten cm. sqrs. drawn on it, against pictures of sets of various objects like animals, geometrical shapes or coins, similarly framed, paired and separated into flash cards (adequate number of sets each flashing such number-cum-illustration) so that the serialised numbers intended to be sought are concretised. For teaching purposes, pairs of numbers and their illustrations are juxta-placed before the learner's eyes. But for feedback, the

related numbers and their illustrations can be painted on the same card

Teaching and Drilling

The teacher can hold each number card and its related illustration card paired for drilling to the children but on the mutually reverse sides. He should *hold out each* card of the second variety with its picture side towards the class and seek response from the students. Next, to verify the answer, the teacher may reverse the card and show the correct answer in its symbol from called notation. This exercise is repeated with all the sets so that the child could get a clearer idea of rational counting.

symbols exemplified by so many holes (punches) as they would represent In the symbol one there should be one hole cut in the number symbol itself. If the number is two, two holes should be cut in the number symbol, and so on. Different collections of tiny glassbeads, shells, stones, match sticks, unit cubes, leaves, seeds, cycle value tube pieces, nuts, cards, stamps, etc., may be given in separate boxes and the students asked to use them to trace these symbols of numbers The teacher also prepares the direction cards which clearly state the objective of the activity. Accordingly the teacher gives the children a box of mixed counters like beads and stones and asks the following types of question :

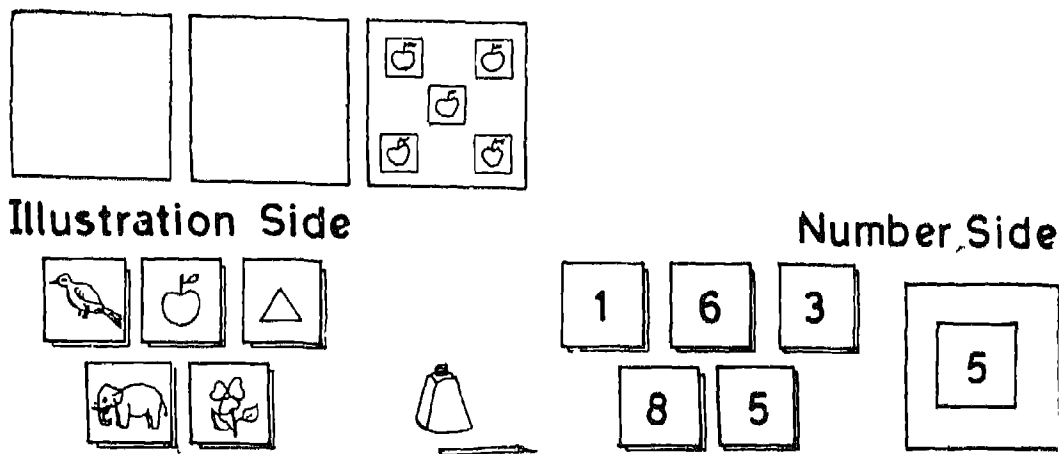



Fig. 1

Activity-Oriented

In order to make it a play-way activity, the teacher distributes number cards and illustration cards in a jumbled form by forming the class into smaller groups and encourages the children to match them up in the correct order first jointly and then each number individually. To give further idea, the card could display number

1. Which are more : stones or beads ? Separate, count and verify your estimation. Estimate numbers of bigger stones and smaller ones.
2. Thread the beads to form a lace in the design which figures out their numbers.
3. Separate the black stones from the white ones. Count each variety and give their numbers.

4. Separate the black beads from the red ones. Count each kind and give their numbers.

Number Idea

For fixation of number idea, simple models of polygons may be prepared in the class out of chart paper and glaze paper, drawing designs of triangles, squares, pentagons, hexagons, heptagons, octagons, nonagons and decagons. Cut them out and give them to the students for counting their sides and for arranging them in ascending and decending order of sides.

Various objects in (vertical or) horizontal rows may be drawn (glaze paper may be used to make drawings colourful). Draw one apple, one cow, one cat or one aeroplane in the first row and write its number in words against it. Draw two apples of a similar type of object in the next row like two apples (or two trees, or two cows or so) with their number two given in the end in word verbally. Repeat the whole process till you gradually count ten or similar objects of the kind on the bottom or final row.

The teacher may show different numbers (sets) of different objects (in pictures) and ask the students to match two-two sets of

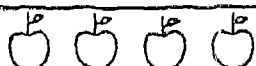
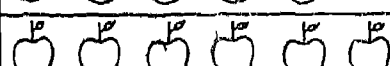
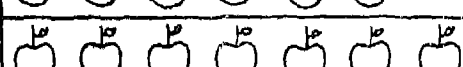
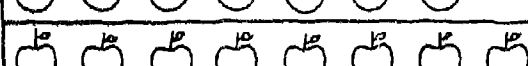
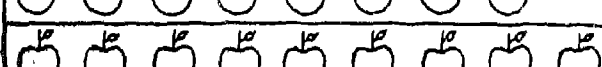
Fig 2

	ONE
	TWO
	THREE
	FOUR
	FIVE
	SIX
	SEVEN
	EIGHT
	NINE

Fig. 3

objects irrespective of their kind, next to match sets of three objects each, and so on. These are called equivalent sets If they are equal not only in number but also in kind, we call them equal sets.

The teacher may ask the child to explore his surroundings and enumerate ones, twos threes and so on (say one sky, one head, two eyes, three legs of tripod, four legs of cot, five fingers, etc.). The procedure may be summed up as below ·

Even at this stage the concept of equal sets (equal numbers of the same kind of objects) and equivalent sets (equal numbers of different kinds of objects) can be given without using the phrases equal and equivalent The concept of numberline with 1 to 10 equal parts marked along it, may also be introduced at this stage It prepares the learner for ordinal numbers and operations to be taken up subsequently. □

Educational Wastage—A Field Study

V.P Garg
J.R. Das

This study was carried out by the authors to examine the impact of pre-primary education on the academic profile of the primary schools of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. The parameters chosen for this study were·

i) drop-out and retention
ii) quantity and quality of academic output
iii) identification and promotion of talent and scholarship
iv) Level and type of participation in Co-curricular activities

The analysis and conclusions drawn from this longtitudinal study are based upon the data and information collected from 18 primary schools—nine schools with attached nursery sections and the other nine schools without nursery sections. The number of children covered under this study is 10,306, if composite student-population (on cumulative school record basis) is taken into account The observations do refer to all students from 1976-77 through 1981-82 The classes were from nursery to V

It is a well-known fact that in spite of the constitutional obligation of Article 45 of the Indian Constitution, the country is still far away from achieving 100 per cent universalisation of elementary education. The problem is multi-dimensional—low enrolment of the age-cohort of 6-14 in primary schools, high-drop-out rate, and poor academic standards. Nursery education was introduced as a pre-requisite to encourage enrolment, retention and better academic performance both for primary-stage and middle-stage education.

Following the policy directive of the Government of India, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi provided the facility of pre-primary education to the residents of the Union Territory of Delhi specially the weaker sections. In 1975, 1976 and 1977, 11 pre-primary schools were opened successively each year. These 33 schools are independent nursery schools without having primary classes. Later on, nursery sections were added to primary schools as a matter of policy. Of the total of 760 nursery

sections till the date of this study (April, 1984) two-thirds of the sections were located in the schools belonging to the under-previleged sections of the society

These schools/sections are well-equipped with nursery equipment apparatus and educational toys for providing quality education to the children. The teachers are recruited after competitive tests and they are also provided promotional avenues so that they can serve the cause.

Objectives of the Study

The present study aimed at measuring the impact of pre-primary education on :

- i) retention,
- ii) stagnation,
- iii) academic achievement, and
- iv) development of personality traits through co-curricular activities

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of the study was that pre-primary education does not affect in any way stagnation, drop-out, or educational achievement.

Research Design of the Study

Two schools were selected from nine zones Nine schools were with nursery classes with a standing of six years and the other nine schools were without nursery classes The idea of choosing schools with nursery classes was that at least one age-cohort is supposed to have completed the primary stage. The selection criteria of the schools have been as under :

- i) It covers a majority of the zones of the Department in order to have a representative sample.
- ii) Both urban and rural schools are represented.
- iii) The schools have enrolment of students belonging to poor families.
- iv) The children have similar socio-economic backgrounds.
- v) The schools selected are prone to higher incidence of wastage and stagnation.

Coverage of Students under the Study

The break-up of the composite student population drawn from 18 schools is given as under :

STATEMENT : COVERAGE OF STUDENTS

Area of Study	*Number of Students*	*Number of Students from Nursery-based Schools*	*Schools without Nursery Sections*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*
Drop-out Aspect	1,082	5,292	4,790
Stagnation Aspect	10,306	5,484	4,822
Impact on Educational Achievement (Class V only)	1,567	798	769

Methodology

To examine the impact of pre-primary education on drop-out, stagnation and educational achievement at the latter primary stage, the following tools were developed by the investigators :

A. School Proforma No I

This proforma elicited information on enrolment, classwise, of the observed school sample for the academic sessions beginning from 1976-1977 through 1981-82 The purpose of this proforma was to ascertain the drop-out position of the age-cohort which entered Class I in 1977-78

B. School Proforma No. 2

This proforma listed information about the academic achievement of the students :

i) The number of children who appeared in the annual examinations; and

ii) the number of children who passed in the examinations.

The information was for the years 1977-78 through 1981-82 for Classes I to V.

With the help of these data, an attempt was made to measure the extent of stagnation at each Class level and at the terminal stage, i.e , Class V.

C. School Proforma No. 3

This proforma had three parts Part I sought information about Class V examination results: Part II focussed on the qualitative aspect (Four-point) scale of examination results; and Part III dealt with scholarship record (general scholarship and science talent scholarship).

Co-curricular Activities Proforma

This proforma recorded the achievement of students in different co-curricular activities over a period beginning from 1976-77 through 1981-82

Stagnation—Some Observations

For the primary stage as a whole average stagnation was found to be 9.48 per cent in the schools with nursery classes, whereas t was 11.16 per cent in the schools without nursery classes. Statistically, the difference man or may not be significant but it is clearly evident that the early childhood education had a salutory effect on stagnation rate. The comparative positions of the failure rate of both types of schools is given as under :

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT ON STAGNATION POSITION
(*Failure Rate*) *In Percentage*

Year	*Class*	*Nursery-based Primary Schools*	*Primary Schools without Nursery Sections*
1976-77	Nursery	24.2	—
1977-78	I	12.99	14.74
1978-79	II	13.25	14.37
1979-80	III	12.63	14 44
1980-81	IV	2.34	10.47
1981-82	V	1.17	1.77

From the above statement, it becomes obvious that the failure rate was lower in the schools which had nursery sections attached to them. This fact was further re-inforced from the scores of Class V students. The nursery-based schools had a higher number of students in the top-score-bracket (marks with 75 per cent above). The percentage point was 10.24 as compared to 7.08 for schools without nursery sections.

Drop-out Rate

The comparative position of the drop-out rate in both types of schools is given as under :

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT ON THE DROP-OUT POSITION (*In Percentage*)

Year	*Class*	*Nursery-based Primary Schools*	*Primary Schools without Nursery Sections*
1976-77	Nursery	25.73	—
1977-78	I	15.23	10.75
1978-79	II	9.71	6.77
1979-80	III	6 98	8.40
1980-81	IV	8.42	2.68
1981-82	V	7.24	5.10

It was surprising that the drop-out rates were found higher in the nursery-based primary schools as compared to the schools which had no nursery sections This calls for a close a scrutiny of local specific causes.

There may not be actual drop-outs for two apparent reasons ·

i) floating population in colonies
ii) chances of admissions in schools other than M C.D schools.

Scholarships

The number of awards for the general scholarship scheme was 38 and for science eight in the nursery-based schools as compared to 17 awards in the general scholarship scheme in the schools without nursery sections. No award was bagged by these schools in science It indicates that the quality of education was found better in the nusery-based schools as compared to the schools without nursery sections

Achievement in Co-curricular Activities

Information was sought on the various types of activities with respect to participation of students in such activities as well as the number of awards won by both types of schools. These activities included sports—cubs and bulbul; transcription, art and craft; dance and music; debates; dramas; and other activities The analysis revealed that the impact of primary education does not show any improvement in the participation as well as winning of awards. This fact requires further investigation

Policy Implications

From the above case study, some of the policy implications could be :

i) encouraging pre-primary education or early-childhood education to reduce educational wastage;
ii) expanding and strengthening physical facilities of pre-primary education in such areas which are prone to the high rate of drop-outs stagnation.
iii) adopting a rational admission policy for pre-primary classes to avoid wastage in pre-primary education. May like to adopt in-time-point entry system for admission instead of all-seasonal admission policy.
iv) liberalising grants-in-aid policy in respect of voluntary educational agencies for promoting pre-primary/early childhood education. ☐

Criterion-Referenced Testing

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CRITERIAN-REFERENCED testing is an evaluation procedure which has gained currency very recently. In this evaluation procedure, the learner is not compared competitively with his peers, rather his performance is compared against an absolute standard The knowledge of a learner's score in the criterion-referenced testing provides explicit information as to what he can do or cannot do. Thus, the criterion-referenced testing assesses the performance of a learner in terms of a standard and gives information as to the level of competence achieved by the learner irrespective of the performance of other learners of the group.

While using the criterion-referenced testing, the teacher is to specify a minimum level of performance expected from students at the end of their learning experiences. In this regard, Fait (1978) says that in the criterion-referenced testing, a level of mastery of certain information or skill is arbitrarily established for each item of the test or for the test or for the test as a whole. The achieved score by the test-takers then describes how well the criterion has been met by students.

Advantages

The criterion-referenced testing offers certain benefits for making instructional decisions in the classroom The student's score in this testing procedure helps in the diagnosis of specific difficulties accompanied by a prescription of certain instructional treatments to overcome those difficulties

The criterion-referenced testing is closely linked with measuring performance in terms of terminal behavioural objectives of a learning task According to Mehrens and Lehmann (1975), "The recent support for the criterion-referenced testing seems to have originated in large part from the emphasis on behavioural objectives, the sequenceing and individualization of instruction,

the development of programmed materials, a learning theory that suggests that most anybody can learn most anything if given enough time, the increased interest in certification, and a belief that norm-referencing promotes unhealthy competition and is injurious to low-scoring-students' self-concept"

Many educators favour the criterion-referenced testing because in this type of evaluation each learner receives the advantage of diagnosis and subsequent prescription of learning opportunities which will optimize his possibilities for achieving mastery of the behavioural objectives set for him (Nixon and Jewell, 1974). Likewise, Bloom (1977) observes that the criterion-referenced testing indicates the degree to which mastery learning has taken place in order to enable the teacher precisely where the student is not mastering his task.

Clift and Imrie (1981) list the following situations where the criterion-referenced testing is used .

1. For evaluating individualized learning.
2. For diagonising students' difficulties
3. For estimating students' ability in a particular area.
4. For controlling entry into successive units of instruction
5. When mastery of a subject or skill is of prime concern.

Instructional Procedures with Criterion-Referenced Testing

The methods of instructions coupled with the criterion-referenced testing make use of evaluation as a tool for corrective learning. In other words, the criterion-referenced testing works as an instrument for controlling the quality of instruction. Some such methods which utilize the criterion-referenced testing for corrective feedback and guidance to improve students' performance are · Personalized system of Instruction (Keller 1968), Individually Guided System of Instruction (Mathur, 1983) and Mastery Learning Instructional Design (Kishore, 1982). These methods of instruction are being advocated as viable alternatives to the traditional methods of instruction like lecture and discussion ❑

Speech Development of Young Children

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LANGUAGE is a medium of Communication. Man expresses his feelings, thoughts and ideas through language which consists of a number of meaningful symbols. Speech is the verbal form of language in which articulate sounds or words are used to convey meanings Speech development is a sound-shaping process proceeding from the vague and indistinct to the clear and distinct.

All sounds are not speech. Mere vocalisation will not make speech Therefore the words articulated must be meaningful. That is, they must represent the objects for which they stand and those meanings must be associated with appropriate sounds. Elizabeth Hurlock (1956) has rightly said, "Even when the baby says recognizable words, such as 'da-da' or 'ball', he is not using real speech unless he associates the words with the objects they represent. 'Da-da', for example, must refer to one person only, not to all men, 'ball' must refer to balls only, not to toys in general" Secondly, the child must *pronounce* the words properly so that they are readily understandable by others in the society. Hence, words must be comprehensible as well as meaningful.

Importance of Speech

Speech is more than a means of communicating thoughts, feelings and emotions. It is essential for personal and social adjustment of the child. It is evident that children who cannot talk and listen to others due to deafness or any other disability to communicate are socially isolated. Bi-lingual children also face social difficulties due to lack of easy communication. On the other hand, children who are able to communicate well with others make better social adjustments than children who lack the ability or who have it but fail to use it for fear of making mistakes. Similarly, popular individuals or children who are leaders have the ability to communicate effectively. G. B. Bell and H.E Hall (1954) have aptly remarked that the child who has acquired the ability to put his thoughts and feelings into words and

who is not held back from doing so by fear of how others will react is in the line for a leadership role. The quiet, introverted child is likely to be overlooked, even though he may have other qualities that are superior to those of the extroverted child who makes himself the centre of group attention by expressing himself frankly and freely.

Development of Speech

Speech development is, however, a very long and complicated process. Research findings have revealed that an infant does not speak his first word until sometimes between the age of twelve and fifteen months. But before that he communicates his feelings through cries, facial expressions and babbling sounds Although such sounds may be meaningless to strangers, parents and others who know him well can make sense out of them and behave accordingly Generally three kinds of preliminary communication are made during the first few months of life. They are (i) crying, (ii) babbling, and (iii) gestures.

(i) Crying

Crying is the only form of expression in the early days of life The early crying is, in effect, "emergency respiration" which is irregular and uncontrolled Even it starts during a state of sleep. No tears are shed in crying until the child is about one month.

Hunger is the most important cause of crying till the baby is two-month old. Colic is the common cause of crying during the first three months of life Then babies cry because of pain, sharp noises, bright lights, uncomfortable position, hunger, disturbances during sleep, inability to move due to restrictive clothes and covers, etc. The baby knows that crying is a sure method of drawing attention. Crying is also caused by fear of a strange situation and by unusual handling Crying makes the child active and prolonged crying makes him tired also. Sometimes too much crying proves psychologically damaging.

Gradually crying is decreased and other methods of communication like speech and gestures are adopted as the child grows. Hurlock has pointed out that for every child the curve for crying should go down as the curve for speech rises. It the speech curve rises slowly, the crying curve will have to descend slowly. Some children do not abandon crying so easily. Proper guidance and encouragement should be given for speaking. Home environment usually delays or accelerates such switch-over from crying to speech.

The early sounds are made by chance movements of the vocal mechanism and depend largely on the shape of the oral cavity and the way it modifies the stream of air expelled from the lungs and passing over the vocal cords. These sounds are sometimes not deliberate and sometimes produced as responses to physical needs. Some of them accompany states of discomfort and some accompany states of comfort The former is regarded as crying and the later is called cooing The form of sound is also accordingly different. Crying is harsh whereas cooing is sweet Cooing is a playful activity which gives pleasure to the infant.

(ii) Babbling

Many of the early sounds disappear as the infant's vocal mechanism develops Some develops into babbling and still later, INTO words. Having no teeth the infant makes the vocal sounds beginning with vowels, then combined with consonants. For

example, they may be 'a', 'aa', 'u', 'uu', 'ma', 'da' or 'no' With practice, vocal control enables the infant to repeat these sounds by stringing them together as in "da-da-da", "ma-ma-ma" This is called babbling or calling. With growing control over the flow of air he can pronounce sounds, wilfully. Babbling is, therefore, called a form of vocal gymnastics and voluntarily produced. But it has no real meaning or association for the baby

According to Hurlock, the age of babbling is between the third and twelfth month with a peak around the eighth month. The develoment of speech from crying or cooing to babbling and from babbling to speech depends largely on the growth of his vocal mechanism and his motivation for speaking. Babbling is a form of "play-speech" in which sounds are produced for this mere pleasure. Sometimes he also gets delight in listening to his own sounds. He often smiles and laughs at the sounds he makes.

Although babbling is made for the delight of the baby himself, it gives pleasure to his parents and family members. It is meaningless to a large extent, but makes sense gradually. It has a long-time effect on his speech development. In babbling, the baby increases the number and variety of sound combinations The child acquires variations in pitch and inflection. Gradually, babbling takes on a conversational tone and social communication form.

(iii) Gestures

The last preliminary form of the communication mainly consists of gestures which are movements of the limbs or the body. Gestures serve as substitutes for a supplement to speech Studies of babies have shown that gestures are usually associated with unintelligible vocalization. Thus, babies try to supplement their sounds with movements and as such, gestures are called "whole-body language".

Unlike babbling which is merely a playful activity, gestures are the purposeful mode of communication. Earlier forms of gestures during babyhood are moving the mouth away from the nipple, turning the head away from the breast or allowing food to run out of the mouth, which indicate that the baby is not hungry, to smile or to swing towards a person shows that he wishes to be picked up, squirming, crying or wiggling during bathing and dressing indicate his resentment towards restrictions on such activity Most of the baby's movements are simple and easily understood by adults

As speech develops, the need for gestures decreases. Unless the infant has adequate vocabulary, he has to depend on gestures Many children fail to express their feelings and ideas through words alone and continue to resort to gestures. They like to use such movements which they learn through experience or imitation from adults, gestures are often used for emphasizing certain things or making the words more meaningful

Gestures are made habitual methods of communication if they are allowed to continue for a long time. Some parents think that their children will abandon the movements themselves. But unfortunately they continue to be mannerisms after a certain time when ordinary speaking is quite adequate Intelligent children who learn to speak early, give up gestures also at an early age. Hence, parents and teachers should not encourage gestures to persist for a long time In higher classes gestures are regarded as bad forms of communication and children are discouraged to continue their bad habits. This promotes their speech improvement. ☐

Teachers Write

Developing Cleanliness Habit Among Students

FOR ages cleanliness habit has always remained one of the major aspects to be developed in school children, to achieve the goal of their 'harmonious development'. This habit cannot be inculcated by bookish lessons alone. "Example is better than precept". So, clean classrooms, clean school surroundings and clean friends, teachers and family members can jointly help to remove the strange type of apathy of the children towards cleanliness

Our school is situated in a slum area having partially *Kuccha* walls, roofs, floors and surrounding streets. Most of the students attend the school without caring for their personal cleanliness. Their illiterate parents also seem to be ignorant of the value and importance of cleanliness not only in their own life but also in the life of their children. So, we at our school thought of a project to study the different aspects of the problem.

The project was divided into two aspects: (a) Theoretical, and (b) Practical.

(*a*) *Theoretical Aspect*

Under this aspect different subject teachers were asked to pick up such lessons, stories and instances from their textbook which related to cleanliness so that the students attention could be specially focussed on these in a fortnightly period specially meant for this purpose

Special talks on cleanliness were given in the morning assembly. Songs, stories, tit-bits and other cultural activities regarding cleanliness were prepared and the students represented these in the morning assembly.

(*b*) *Practical Aspect*

This aspect was divided into three parts as below .

(*i*) *Personal Cleanliness*: For personal cleanliness marks for various aspects were alloted which are as under :

a) for clean uniform	3
b) for daily bath	2
c) for brushing the teeth	2
d) for trimmed nails	1
e) for properly combed hair	1
f) for foot-wear	1
Total	10 marks

The monitors under the supervision of their class teachers daily checked the clean-

liness and awarded marks, according to the scheme, to each student in the morning assembly. From the sum total of the marks for 15 days 'Clean Boy' and 'Clean Girl' of the class and of the school were declared.

(ii) *Cleanliness of Classrooms* : Our goal was that the whole school atmosphere should present a picture of cleanliness. So, the rooms and the compound were specially cleaned up daily. Important Slokas, slogans and statements of different personalities regarding cleanliness were written with chalk on the walls. More dust bins were provided. The students were strictly told to use dust bins and not to spit on the floor.

iii) *Cleanliness of School Surroundings* · The school is situated in between two streets The parents of the students, the PTA members and the residents of the two streets were called to attend a meeting. Of course, the attendance was below expectations. They were told to keep the surroundings clean and to take special care of cleanliness of their wards. Mottos about cleanliness were also written on the walls of the streets. DDT was got sprayed in dirty places

Results

1 The girl students have responsed more to the project and they are now more careful about their personal cleanliness.

2. As a result of the school presenting a clean environment the attendance of the students has gone up from 70 per cent to 99 per cent.

3. In the words of a vistor to the school during the operation 'the cleanliness project', "The students, clad with blue shirt uniforms coupled with brightened teeth present a fascinating scene. The clean compound and the walls decorated with some mottos radiate freshness all round in the slum area". □

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CONTENTS

TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

We invite our readers—the primary teachers—to contribute to this journal profusely. The articles/features, clearly typed out in double space on one side of the paper only, should be sent to the General Editor, *The Primary Teacher*, Journals Cell, NCERT, NIE Campus, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110016.

Role of Teacher's Organisations in Non-Formal Education Programme

K. G. Rastogi

The man is such a creature that he is expected to know and learn every process around him from simple actions like walking, talking, eating, smiling, laughing, etc. to launching a satellite in the space The needs of life are too varied and they go on changing with the changing society as no formal system of education for a limited period can cope with the same. Therefore, in every country—developed, developing or under-developed, there will always be need for some kind of continuing education which may be known as 'non-formal education' or by any other name.

India is a democratic country. Democracy cannot continue without the socially conscious, vigilent citizens. The citizens busy in only earning their livelihood will not be able to satisfy the needs of a democracy. Therefore, every Indian citizen must get general education at least for 8 years from the age of 6 to 14. Article 45 of the Indian Constitution provides this in the name of Universalization of Elementary Education. As this has not been possible in the past, the problem of educational backwardness is very serious in the country. On an average about 70% of the children in the age-group of 6—14, either did not join the school at all or left the school after a year or so with the result that they remained uneducated. In certain states, the percentage of non-school going girls in the age-group 6—14 is 85 while in the case of tribal children, it is even 90—95 per cent. This has resulted into a huge mass of uneducated adults also.

Realizing the importance of education for these two groups, the state governments with the help of Central Government have launched two separate programmes in the area of non-formal education—one for the children in the age-group of 6—14 and the other for the adults in the

age-group of 15—35. In the case of the non-formal education programme for children, the objectives of the programme were laid down as entry into formal schools at multiple points and the improvement of quality of life. But in the case of adults, the main focus is on the improvement of their personal and vocational life. Literacy and numeracy are only the tools to achieve this objective. In the case of children, literacy and numeracy are the most powerful media to know the life and the world

In order to implement any programme, three things are required—the positive atmosphere, facilities in terms of materials and the efforts in terms of workers. The teachers' organisations can play a very effective role in creating the favourable atmosphere for education in the society. No other section of the society is so much concerned with education as teachers are. Education is their life. Favourable atmosphere for education may be created by converting every school into a community centre which can help in converting the society into a learning society. In that situation, the concept of education will not be limited to a compartmentalized one in terms of subjects and disciplines at different levels for different stages and grades. The educational process will not be one way or two, but it will be multiway which will develop through mutual exchange of knowledge and experiences of people of different sections of the society. A favourable atmosphere is not created by a single man through a single activity.

Favourable atmosphere is created only when all people belonging to different organisations organise a lot of activities catering to the needs of people having different needs, problems, ambitions, life styles and life experiences. In addition to the Central and state level propaganda through mass media, the ground level popular activities such as morning processions and corner meetings organised by the teacher's organisations through the schools will go a long way in creating the favourable atmosphere for education in the society which will ultimately solve the problems of motivation of learners to a great extent. The non-formal education programme being implemented in the country can be successful if it is organised as a war against ignorance and is carried on the same scale at which the war for freedom from slavery was fought.

The relevance, flexibility and practicability have been identified as criteria for non-formal education In order to make education relevant to the needs, problems and ambitions of the people reflected in their life styles and life experiences, have to be identified in respect of different socio-economic groups living in different climatic regions. In order to make education functional and useful, these are to be utilized as the base for developing the curriculum and the instructional materials for the clientele Uniformity being the basic need of formal education, it has not been possible to make it relevant to the needs and problems of the people. In the case of formal education, the curriculum, the instructional materials, the instructional methodology, teacher's qualifications, evaluation procedures, etc are the same irrespective of the differences which contribute to the education of the children living in different areas. But in the case of non-formal education, the areas are to be identified in terms of physical environment and the clientele are to be identified in

terms of their socio-economic status and their requirements Therefore, a lot of variety of instructional materials and instructional strategies are to be developed The clientele of non-formal education being a heterogenous group of lot of self learning materials oriented to their needs and problems and based on different designs in terms of the association and organisation of knowledge will have to be prepared. The teacher already engaged in formal education can contribute a lot in developing instructional materials and instructional strategies as individuals and as a member of their organisation In order to give impetus to this activity, teacher's organisations should be involved in a bigger way rather than the teacher's involvement in their personal capacity or as representatives of different academic institutions.

The availability of qualified teachers in non-formal education is a very big problem In some states, qualified teachers are not available for formal schools even, not to say of non-formal education centres. Different states have adopted different practices in appointing teachers for non-formal education centres In Madhya Pradesh, teachers of formal schools are engaged on part time basis who are paid fifty percent initially and fifty percent on the basis of the result. Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are preferring to appoint local youths. Bihar and Delhi are employing trained unemployed teachers for non-formal education centres. At present, the educational qualifications of non-formal education teachers range from VIII class pass to post graduate and their age-group ranges from 18-70 years. But such persons are available only in those villages which are near the towns. But in the far-flung areas where non-formal education is most required, it is very difficult to get a high school pass boy or a girl. Teachers' organisations can help a lot in this regard. The formal school teachers may stay in such areas for a limited duration of about a month or so or may go twice a week whichever is convenient according to the local situation. The services of students of middle, secondary and higher secondary schools may be utilized for such areas under the guidance and supervision of formal school teacher. The students and teachers may be paid some honorarium for this work. Another important problem regarding non-formal education programme is the supervision of the non-formal education centres It has been repeatedly said and reported that the administration of the formal education is already overloaded with the work of supervision of formal schools. Therefore, both at the centre and in the states there has been a feeling that separate supervisors may be appointed for non-formal education.

Instead of appointing new boys and girls as supervisors for non-formal education for 30-60 centres, it is better to appoint one teacher of a formal school as supervisor for ten centres only. Instead of paying Rs. 300 to a supervisor to supervise 30 centres, an amount of Rs. 100 can be paid to each of the teachers of the formal schools to supervise ten centres. This scheme will not increase the cost but will definitely provide an effective supervision to non-formal education centres. Moreover, it may help in removing some frustration among the senior teachers of the formal schools who do not get promotion.

In short, the services of teacher's organisations may be best utilized for

creating the favourable atmosphere in the field of non-formal education programme and also for fulfilling the need of men and materials required for the success of the programme being implemented by the states with the massive help of the Ministry of Education of the Government of India, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and the Directorate of Adult Education. □

The Need for Guidance Services at Primary Stage

DAYA PANT

Most children go through the education process like a straw floating in the stream Like the uncertain destiny of the straw lies at the whims of waves, the destiny of the children in our educational setting is at the mercy of the curriculum in the school which is absolutely callous to them as individuals throbing with various emotions and each with a different composition of needs, receptivity, reactivity and sensitivity possessing different abilities, interests and skills. Their own role in determining the goals or modus operandi of attaining these goals is very little. By the time they are eligible to comprehend what is it all about, it is too late to reverse the processs.

Experts on child education agree that years of schooling are crucial for the future life of the child. All the faculties of the child grow fast; his intellectual perceptions not only cognitive but social, emotional, personal and developmental also take place At this phase of development, the child has certain basic needs These are of two types—physiological needs and aquired or sociogenic needs. Physiological needs are those that are essential for the living organism like food, water, air, etc. Sociogenic needs are the needs borne of social status of the human beings These are needs for affection, needs for belonging, security, sense of trust and self esteem, etc. These needs may be satisfied in a routine manner at home and also at school If these needs are not fulfilled, the child develops behavioural abnormalities. Satisfaction of these needs is also essential for any effective learning Thus, it is the responsibility of the school to provide gratification for these needs, if it aims to educate them.

Deprivation at home of the maladies leads to the normal development. School can intervene and provide experiences to the children that will satisfy or compensate for the deprivation experienced by them at home. Not only deprived children but even normal children sometimes develop behaviours which are undesirable and maladaptive Children with certain deformities, special abilities, excessive restlessness or hyperacatalectic children all need suitable experiences that will bring them optimum level of receptivity, remove their excessive sensitivity and instability. Ex-

periences have to be interwoven into the curriculum of the children. These experiences do occur in the normal life also, but they are so haphazard that it is a matter of chance whether the students will benefit from them or not These experiences have got to be organised and interpreted so that they can derive maximum benefit from them. The organisation and systemization of experiences has to be done keeping in view the child, his needs and his special ability or disability.

Any deficit or gap in learning at this stage is likely to have long term ramifying effects at later stages both in cognitive as well as behavioural domain.

Guidance for Mental Hygiene

Guidance aims at planning, coordinating and gearing up of experiences for each individual child. Guidance emphasizes the individual differences among children and resultant requirements for different treatments rather than processing them all through the same mould. Guidance provides for learning experiences that bring desirable change in the behaviour. Guidance makes provision for the environment in which children can learn effective behaviour patterns, become happy and free to respond to outer world.

The behaviour which may seem disruptive to the teacher, may seem abnormal to normal persons and which normally brings disapproval and sanctions from teachers, may appear not so abnormal or bizzare if it is understood in terms of the need of the child An understanding of the dynamics of the behaviour may help the teacher in reacting differently and making more appropriate response that will satisfy the need underlying such a behaviour and release his energies for more constructive behaviour. There are children with strong sense of insecurity and lack of trust in others These children normally attract annoyance of the teacher for not being able to cooperate with others and participate in group activities. These children, if punished may become even more insecure They have to be handled differently. All such problems pose challenge for the teacher and severe disability for the child and tamper his future progress Piling up of these problems may lead to his dropping out of school or continuous failure and a lot of wastage of the *National resources*.

Guidance for Acceleration of Learning

Learning difficulties of the children are innumerable. Lack of interest and proper study habits besides reading difficulties, forgetfulness, there are a number of other problems associated with reading and learning like specific learning disabilities that hinder the progress of learning although not noticeable to the teacher. Some of them are physiological but some could be corrected if timely detected

Most of the problems of children with learning are due to lack of readiness to learn Readiness to learn is the presence of all the skills necessary to learn. Like, a child will learn to walk only when his physiological structures are mature enough. Readiness to learn is a necessary condition before any child could benefit from formal teaching. To identify whether a particular child has the readiness or not needs assistance of a professional worker.

Guidance for an Orientation

Besides preventive aspect, there is need for orientation of children to their educa-

tional and vocational future in view of the complexity of the world of work The educational career also has to be planned very early because of the excessive competition for admission into various courses. They have to be made aware of the various careers open to them so that they may explore their various abilities and interests for different type of careers Then choice of a career will not have to be done in a great hurry Consciousness regarding their career at early stage helps them in exploration of their own ability and attitudes, values, interests and aptitudes through the curriculum and extra-curriculum activities if organised keeping in view their needs. Guidance will go a long way in helping their adjustments in life generally with their career, peers and family, etc.

The Education Commission (1964-66) stressed the need for providing guidance at primary stage. It said, "Guidance should begin from the lowest class of primary school". The modus operandi suggested was that there should be training programme for primary school teachers and the topic on guidance and mental hygiene be included in their curriculum. It was also suggested to start guidance services in training institutions. Short in-service programmes for primary school teachers may also be started. This arrangement to provide guidance at the elementary level is inadequate. The primary teacher all alone cannot carry out guidance programme at school Primary school teachers do not have the time to carry out guidance functions

The strength of teaching staff is not sufficient keeping in view the number of children enrolled even for teaching purpose They can carry out some activities carefully planned for school children but to expect them to assess the needs of children to organise a sound guidance programme geared to the needs of the children is like launching a ship without a captain. They lack the necessary professional expertise needed to organise guidance services and this cannot be overcome by giving them training in guidance Training could be given for carrying out activities but innovations and continuous viability of the guidance programme will need a professional touch. There has to exist a consultant that will look after certain specified primary schools. Some hierarchical structure will have to exist to provide even minimal fruitful guidance to primary children. This is besides training the primary school children and involving them in the process of guidance. Without the involvement of the teachers in the guidance process, the programme cannot be successful. The same is true if supportive help will not be given to them by the district level authorities by way of providing a Guidance Consultant or Visiting School Counsellor. ☐

Improving Elementary Education in Rural Areas

QAMAR UDDIN

Education plays a very important and decisive role in the development of the personality And since evaluation is now functioning as the regulator of the whole educational activity, it needs immediate attention. Evaluation is the regulator of the whole educational activity in the sense that learning is adapted to meet the requirements of the test situations. It shows the change or the improvement the child has made in the exit behaviour as compared to his entry behaviour. Thus, it plays a very significant and decisive role in determining the goals of education.

The curriculum for the Ten-year school lays down certain very important points regarding evaluation at the school stage. Emphasising the necessity of evaluating the child's achievement at several points of time, it says that its purpose is immediate feedback to both the pupils and the teachers. The pupils should know :

(a) What they have learnt ?
(b) How much they have learnt ? and
(c) How well they have learnt it ?

The teacher in order to contribute more to the education of the child should know at the end of his instruction as to :

(a) What is the change or improvement in the pupil's behaviour as a result of his instruction ?
(b) Where has it failed ?
(c) Why has it failed ? and
(d) Where and to what extent his instruction needs improvement and change ?

In short, real and effective instruction is only that at the end of which the teacher is sure that he has been successful in creating those qualities among his pupils he had determined at the outset, i e. before he started his instruction and gives feedback to those who have not attained that standard.

This feedback for the pupils as well as for the teachers is necessary to bring that desirable change in the pupil's behaviour and also to create those qualities among our young millions which our multi-religious, multi-regional and multi-lingual country needs the most for economic growth, peaceful social co-existence and for overall development of the pupils so that India successfully participates in the international race of advancement.

It becomes, therefore, necessary that utmost attention is given to improve education in all its respects specially at the primary stage where the personality traits take root

firmly for the whole of life. Whatever at the primary stage is done is mostly confined to the urban schools where comparatively a greater number of parents are educated who alongwith the teachers look after the education of their children and thus make the task of the teacher and the taught easy.

But in the rural areas the parents are mostly uneducated who know less about :

(a) What their child is studying ?
(b) To what extent he has studied it ? and
(c) Why he is studying it ?

To them, it is more than satisfying that their child goes to school and passes the examination at the end of the year The level of achievement they neither know nor do they feel a need to know it

Objectives of Education at Elementary Stage

There are no two opinions about the fact that early years of the life of a child are crucial for his all round growth and development The habits, sentiments, interests and attitudes are formed during this period. It is, therefore, at this stage that the greatest emphasis is laid on the formation of right attitudes, right conduct and right way of thinking. This is the stage where qualities like common sense, tolerance, sense of responsibility, social adjustment, sense of appreciation for the contribution of others and the like are created among the pupils for the development of a balanced personality. The majority of the population of the country lives in the villages. Although there are educational institutions, but not much conscious care has been taken to develop those qualities It is, therefore, essential that more attention is given to the development of these qualities among the rural children.

The Teachers Role

Now the question arises how to develop these qualities? As is well known, the teacher plays a pivotal role in the education of the pupils. He is treated by the child as a live example. The pupils have a tendency to follow. They have full faith in their teachers, in the sincerity of the teachers and therefore they quickly follow what the teachers say or do There is no dearth of examples of the lives of great men who have been tremendously influenced by their teachers. The rural teachers have some more benefits over the urban teachers. in the villages the teachers usually know the pupils and their parents personally and are well aware of their household circumstances. They are, therefore, in a better position to instruct and guide the child with individual attention. Inspite of the tremendous social change that closes relationship between the *guru* and the *shishya* is more or less intact in the rural areas and the Indian village teacher continues to exert more or less the same powerful influence over his pupils and parents as he used to exert in the past.

This deep faith of the child and the parents in the teacher can play useful role in bringing about desirable behavioural changes in the child. Undoubtedly, he is the key person whose task is more challenging than those of the teachers of secondary and university stages. But the usefulness of his role itself depends upon the type of training and periodical orientation he has received and is receiving in the field of instruction and evaluation.

The Community Resources

In the present complicated society with tremendous impact of social forces and community resources over both the children

and adults, it becomes necessary that responsibility of educating the child is not left with the teacher alone

The community resources can also strengthen the hands of the teachers in preparing the child for a better life Till now, no role of the community resources has been recognized in teaching what to say in making evaluation more effective and useful. But their involvement in instruction and evaluation programme of the schools in addition to other educational activities can be of immense help for the overall improvement of education. The rural schools are in some respects the most appropriate places for the development of some personality traits due to the existance of a large number of very effective community resources spreading throughout rural India Here, the child is directly exposed to nature and has every opportunity to learn through direct experience.

For this purpose, those who are responsible for bringing improvement and change in education should do the following ·

(a) Mobilise the strength of the teacher by giving him right type of training both pre-service and in-service and make use of this great and effective force in the overall development of education As has already been discussed, the rural teachers know the pupils and their families personally and they can be the best judges for the evaluation of aspects of pupil's growth other than scholastic. They have better opportunities of observing the pupil's behaviour. Through evaluation of their pupil's aptitudes, they can direct them to adopt a suitable profession in life and thus can serve a very useful purpose by reducing educated unemployment

(b) The teachers must be provided with selected material on various aspects of education after a thorough scrutiny by the officers in-charge so that they concentrate on one aspect at one time

(c) The system which is suggested to be adopted to improve education in schools must be economical, practical and spelt out in similar terms and preferably in their own regional languages so that it is implemented easily in schools.

(d) The inspecting officers must also be given an intensive training in the methods of instruction and evaluation so that they are in a better position to guide the teachers and implement programme on right lines and do not just find faults in the working of the schools

(e) Community resources can serve a very useful purpose if their full involvement is there not only in teaching but in evaluation as well so that parents also have a knowledge of how evaluation is done in the schools and how it can be made use of to improve instruction and physical and moral growth of the pupils

(f) It is to be made clear to the primary teachers that this is the real stage where sustained and conscious efforts are needed to do the utmost for the real growth of the child and that their contribution to the development of the child's personality is the greatest and lasting in all respects and even more than their higher ups so that they develop self confidence. ☐

Tribal Students and Role of Schools

K. R. SHARMA

What the tribal Child needs most is reinforcement. The teacher must pick up what he says and appeal to him through examples and illustrations. He must award pupils whose faces light up during the learning process

Most tribal children are relatively slow learners especially in performing intellectual task This slowness is an important feature of their mental make up which needs to be carefully evaluated. Teachers well recognise this aspect. Yet they lay too much emphasis on speed. Teachers reward speed They treat fast child to be smart and the slow one as a dull. This is a false perception Well, there could be much weakness in speed and much strength in slowness in so far as tribal children are concerned.

The Strength of Tribal Children

The teacher can be motivated to develop techniques for rewarding slow pupils if he understands positive attributes of the slow learning style He should know that a pupil may be slow because he is extremely careful, meticulous or cautious because he usually refuses to generalize or because he cannot understand an idea unless he does some thing physical. The tribal child is typically a physical learner and a physical learner is generally a slow learner. Incidentally, however, the physical style of learning has certain positive features which are usually overlooked.

A child may be slow because he learns in a one track way. He persists in one line of thought and is not flexible or broad. He does not easily shift from one frame of reference to another. Consequently he may appear to be slow and dull

It is found that there are some merits of slow learners. In some fields, they have done good creative work. What the tribal child needs most is reinforcement. The teacher must pick up what he says and appeal to him through examples and illustrations. The teacher does not do these things with a slow child He must reward pupils whose faces light up during the learning process. Tribal children suffer from verbal deficit ; they may be in-articulate and non-verbal But it cannot be generalized. These children are indeed quite verbal out of school and highly articulate in conversation with their friends. Many questions about the verbal potential of tribal children need to be answered by

research. Under what conditions are they verbal ? What kind of stimulus do they respond to verbally ? With whom are they verbal ? What do they talk about ? What parts of speech do they use ? There is difference between formal language and public language, between the language of a written book and informal everyday language. There is no question that tribal children are deficient in formal language. If the school accepts the idea that these tribal children are basically very poor verbally, teachers might approach them in a different manner. They might look for additional techniques to help them bring out their verbal ability.

Their Perception of Education

Tribal people value education but dislike school. They are alienated from the school and resent the teachers They have a positive attitude towards education but a negative attitude towards the school. The reason is very simple. They recognise that they are second class citizens in the school and are angry about it. They believe that the school does not like them nor does it respond favourably to them. It does not appreciate their culture nor does it think that they can learn

Tribal children and their parents do not accept education as a means of 'developing yourself', "expressing yourself', 'gaining knowledge for its own sake'. They want education much more for vocational reasons. Even so, they have a positive attitude towards education.

Role of School

A basic weakness of tribal children which the school can deal with is the lack of know-how—both academic and professional. They generally do not know how to get a job, how to appear for an interview, how to fill out a form, how to take tests, how to answer questions, how to listen' and similar other skills The last is particularly important The whole style of learning of the tribal is not set to respond to oral or written stimuli These children respond more readily to visual and kinesthetic signals. The school should change to meet their needs to help them improve in some ways in such things as reading, formal language, test taking, general know-how, etc Rather than imposing values on tribal children, schools should impart them skills, techniques and knowledge

They should be helped to overcome lack of school know-how, limiting experience of formal language, poverty of auditory attention and time perspective, lack of test taking skills and limited reading ability. The school must recognise these deficiencies and work to combat them. What is even more important are the positive elements of their culture and style which should serve as guidelines for the new school programmes and techniques. There are a number of reasons why it is important for schools to emphasize the positive Some of these are :

It will encourage the school to develop new approaches and techniques appropriate to the cognitive style of tribal children

It will enable tribale children to be educated without middle class values being imposed on them.

It will stimulate teachers to aim high, to expect more and more work from these children. It will operate against patronization and against the double-tract system which prevents the tribal child from joining the mainstream.

It will curb school's tendency to over-emphasize vocational, non-academic education for these children.

It will make teachers develop creativity among these children.

It will make room for interaction among different cultures and styles to make the school more democratic.

It will invite teacher's attention to the potential strengths of these children and to the kind of special training needed for positively responding to their learning and life style. □

Towards Quality Elementary School

ASHWANI KUMAR

The question of quality education has baffled man since times immemorial As such a variety of attempts have been made over the ages to define what really makes 'quality' in education and, in turn, a 'quality school'. In this particular context quality of a nation depends primarily on the quality of its school and the quality of citizens it seeks to produce. It makes imperative for teachers to lay proper foundation of education. The stronger the foundation, the firmer would be the edifice.

It remains as yet a big question as to what really constitutes the strength of this foundation to make it the true base of a quality school. The pendulum in this regard has often swung in favour of one kind of factors and corresponding programmes than others from time to time mainly around the cycle of teacher-centred, content-centred, pedagogy-centred, child-centred and activity-centred education, etc with particular emphasis on respective dimensions in tune with the main educational focus of different times. The focus of the current age, however, is on integration of the best from each dimension besides intervention of the technological advancements for the purpose of education to make the school plant as best as it possibly could be

The most fundamental characteristic of a quality school today is its dynamic and progressive nature towards innovative ideas and practices. Its basic aim is to evolve the creative and constructive genius of every child put to its charge. Most schools claim to do it. But the fact, by and large, is quite otherwise Even the so called model schools often fail and falter in realizing their tall claims and multiple goals There is always some kind of a gap between the cherished ends and realized achievements.

However, despite obvious shortfalls, a quality school often develops its own culture and uniqueness which it seeks to refine and refresh continuously and consistently in order to make it more meaningful and rich to augment better education of the child. In that a quality school reviews its programmes and approaches regularly and always tries on new ideas and ways. It openly accepts innovative and creative suggestions of teachers, students and community as also draws out the best from all available resources to enrich the school plant and its educational endeavours. It demands wholesome synchronization of the cherished goals with content and pedagogy

on the one hand and with the role and expectations of the teacher and the taught on the other, such that the desired result is mutually reinforced for its being a good school This will to reinforce quality in educational efforts, constantly and regularly, makes the hall-mark of a quality school much more so at the elementary level of schooling.

Martin Luther once said "We can get along without burgomasters, princes and noble men but we cannot do without schools for they must rule the world" Schools are indispensable, they should become invaluable places of joy, virtue and value to attract children spontaneously and automatically within their folds. They should evolve their student's talents and potentialities to help them enjoy and pursue their studies. Their efforts must be directed at developing that in which a student excels and at correcting the defect to which he may be easily prone, to make him a skillful learner. They should provide for sound education and nurture so as to inculcate good nature in every child to make him really educated besides teaching him useful skills, sciences and arts indispensably essential for developing a wholesome way of life and perfect sympathy between him and the school plant. In the opinion of *Plato*, a quality school often exerts such a powerful influence that a child trained aright develops into a 'divine creature'. The focus of quality schooling in this context is always on proper development and regeneration of the whole child.

A quality primary school as such directs its attention on making its children learn to distinguish between good and bad influences and serves as a house for children's proper development as well as correction. It reveals in essence vital elements of human nature in order to relate the content, activities and methods of education with the laws of wholesome growth and development of its children.

It is commonly believed that seeds of human dimension of growth have to be sown at the elementary stage of schooling particularly because it is the property of everything in nature to be easily bent and moulded when it is tender, but when hardened, it will simply crack and crumble like wax as also because the education of man really commences right from his birth. Thus, besides training the child in 3 R's, craft and arts and other desirable productive skills and attitudes, it is quite proper to impart him education into what constitutes the essential nature of man, distinct from animal and other species. Schools often fail in this urgent task. The result is chaos that often creates confusion between mean and ends, between what the school ought to do and what it really does. Consequently, it makes for a culture lag too hard to be broken to defy the charge, often made by *Rousseau* that though born good, everything degenerates in the hands of man, quality primary school is naturally out to fight this stigma and to pave way for evolving the good in man. It spontaneously contends that there is no original perversity in human nature and therefore makes 'goodness' of every child the very keynote of its plans and policies. It understands what man intrinsically is and what his needs are, what strengthens him and what weakens and what elevates and humiliates him to accordingly plan the school work and curricula in order to invoke the utmost of the child's powers, principles and nature A quality school therefore respects first the child and attunes the teaching-learning

process and entire school environment to his utmost growth.

A quality elementary school in this context seeks to achieve for its children what their parents often fail to do The knowledge of 3 R's is not, after all, what they need most. The really important thing for them is to be something to become what they potentially are meant to be. The most basic element of a key quality school, therefore, is to stir up and strengthen the pleasure and power of every child to work hard and uninterruptedly for optimum realization of his veritable potentialities through the process of education including self education It will make children, by the end of their primary education, well-informed, skilled, well-behaved and balanced persons keen and eager to perceive and pursue the further lap of their education and life stage

It follows as an important corollary that a quality school never abandons its deep and abiding interest in the child especially in making him sensitive, curious and creative for achieving optimum growth in the desired direction. Thus, a kind of creative and constructive implementation of programmes, plans and activities makes the characteristic of a quality elementary school, such that it manifests throughout some kind of an excellence in education to produce wholesome personalities of its wards. It exploits total creative thrust of curriculum as well as methods and indeed of the total school environment including community resources for total child development.

It offers maximum motivation for its children to learn maximally through its programmes and activities, methods and content matter. It so organises itself as to become a place where its students most fit in where they learn not only to survive the technological era but also to make room for a post-technological humane society. The fundamental task of a quality elementary school, therefore, is not simply to prepare the child for literacy and work but more so for quality of life that may make him live happily and wisely. It helps the child understand himself as also his surroundings including man's cultural heritage for accelerating the pace of human progress. It awakens every child's conscience to share his responsibility for making the world better than hithertofore. The seeds of such an awareness are made to sprout in every child in a true quality elementary school ☐

Education: A Medium of Transmitting Values

NAGENDRA SINGH

The major processes through which the culture is transmitted from one generation to another is the process of immitation The child learns about his culture from parents, siblings and peers through direct experience of their physical environment and of their place. The content of such an informal learning cannot be transmitted through formal schooling. Since such learning is closely related to their immediate needs, the children's ability to learn and remember is sharpened and encouraged.

Education is a subject of great discussions among philosophers, pedagogues, political thinkers, psychologists and sociologists Each one of them has emphasised one's respective interest in the definition of education Some have defined education as preparation for life while others looked at it as a process influencing mental growth Others attempted to define education as a learning process.

These thinkers viewed education as a process which imprints values, standards and norms on the mind of an infant who enters the world without knowledge of any sort. During this process of transmitting knowledge, the child takes advantage of the knowledge which his ancestors have already won by deep thought, hard experience and bitter mistakes.

Social scientists looked at education as the media of transmission of culture. By culture they meant the ideas shared by a social group whether it be a tribe, a nation or a whole civilization. These ideas are preserved, remembered from generation to generation In this way, education serves both society and the individual. It serves society because it keeps its culture alive. It serves the individual because it places that culture at his disposal

Parson has defined three fundamental characteristics of culture : "first, that culture is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or a social tradition Secondly, that it is learned, it is not a manifestation of man's genetic constitution and third, that it is shared". Therefore, it is in the sharing of culture that man becomes a fully social.

Thus, the life of any society depends upon its culture To be within a culture is to be able to communicate and cooperate with one's fellowmen, to think within the

richness of an intellectual tradition and to take one's place in the economic and social life of society Human progress depends upon the maintenance of culture

Defining Values

Sociologists and anthropologists have given various definitions of culture. It is broadly conceived as that part of the society which is non-physical, non-genetic and is more or less permanent It is also considered as a force which satisfies human desires. *Urban*(1956) defines value as a characteristic of an object which satisfies human desire. Such objects are termed as 'good'. He further defines value as anything that furthers or conserves life. In this form "value is a vital phenomenon appearing in a psychological form" Further analysis of this philosophical construct helps in evolving a more comprehensive definition of value

According to another approach, the concept values refer to interests, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations in addition to desires, wants and needs. It further refers to aversions and attractions and many other modalities of selecting orientations (*Pepper*, 1958). Value is further understood as anything of interest to a human subject *Ottaway* suggests that value includes something of the religion, philosophy and ideology of the people

An effective educational system must clearly define objectives for which knowledge and skills are imparted. There is a close connection between educational objectives and values which are important in regulating and synchronizing the behaviour of an individual with his environment. School has a role to play in the formulation of these values. Value orientations and social models are important factors in shaping the structure and organisation of the school.

Values are of various types: they are eternal and temporal, intrinsic and instrumental, lower and higher, individual and social, etc. Values are bodily economic and recreational, (*Urban*, 1956) These values are divided into further classifications, (a) organic and (b) hyperorganic. Hyperorganic values are subdivided into two categories namely values of sociality and spiritual values.

It may be construed from this that the values which are the important components of a culture are not transmitted through formal education at all. In societies, other than primitive ones where education has become a more organised aspect of life, young people not only learn basic skills but also acquire certain social graces and an idea of right and wrong according to their ethical code of their particular society. Children in such a society enjoy not only what may be called a vocational education but also one which equips them to make the most of the social life of their groups.

Ever since the Greeks propounded their view of education, the function of education of transmitting values from one generation to another had been given a central importance in the educational system. It was the question of transmitting the types of values through education which was the main cause of Socrates' martyrdom. Plato holds an important place in the theory of education till today that education should go beyond the mere transmission of ideas from one generation to the next and that by controlling the upbringing of young one could aspire to make possible a truly better and fuller life. Thus, Plato saw education as a creative force with which to shape a

better society. He laid emphasis on the virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Perhaps for him these were the basic values that form a just society, a state and an administration.

The above discussion raises a few basic questions like Should values be transmitted through education? Who should decide what values be transmitted and what not? Is it possible to evolve an educational system which does not transmit the values? Our further discussion on the topic will mainly be an attempt to present a few views on these questions.

In order to answer our first question, we shall have to examine the content and objectives of an educational system The content of education is decided upon on the basis of objectives we lay for a particular educational system. The true character of education reveals that the transmission of values from one generation to another is automatic because the first of the two elements of education, i e., spread of literacy is achieved with the help of books prescribed for the school and college students.

The second question is most crucial one. Educationists and thinkers both in the primitive and advanced societies have been trying to lay down the objectives of their respective educational system. The appex body in the society devoted to the cause of education lays down the broad guidelines of the educational system which are simply the extent and the content of a culture to be transmitted from one generation to another. The details of these extents and contents are brought before the teacher in the form of a curriculum and the methods of teaching this curriculum. Thus, the real media of transmitting values are methods of teaching and the curricula. Though educationists may feel that they are dealing with the methods of developing craftsmanship in a citizen yet behind this whole process, consciously or unconsciously, they are working towards the development of his balanced personality. Value being a component of personality can never be left out of the educational system.

When we look at the new trends in education which emphasise need based character of an educational system, we are not diverging from the basic role of education, i e., transmission of culture and its values. It is because the values themselves are a source of need and desires of an individual as well as of the society. In this context it would be in the fitness of things if we study in depth the evolution of education system in India. There are four stages of this development namely, education in Vedic period, education in medieval age, European impact on education system and lastly post-independence educational system. A comparative study of these four stages of the development of education in India would divulge distinct emphasis on values. The most gloomy state of education appeared during the third stage of development of education in India, i.e., European intrusion into educational system. The enriched Indian culture was divorced from the new European educational system. This was an attempt by the Europeans to start the gradual divorce process of the cultural heritage of the Indian people and attract them to materialist values.

They succeeded in their attempt and altogether a new outlook, new way of life, qualitatively different aspirations among the people and their motivations developed.

They adopted technology to subordinate the Indian thought, literature, arts and science to the European ones in the curricula developed by them to be taught in schools and colleges in this country The structure and functions of schools and colleges during this period were significantly different from those existed in India in the form of *Pathshalas*, *Madrasas*, *Gurukuls* and *Ashrams*. These Indian institutions were based on compassion, respect for elders, sacrifice, truth and devotion.

During the last 25 years attempts are being made to revive the Indian values in the content of education alongwith new emerging set of values Emphasis has been laid on incorporating these values in the educational system laid down by Kothari Commission. It is suggested that the books may be written in such a way that the coming generation internalise them The process of *internalisation* of such values has to be acceralated by the teacher The educational aids like television, radio, cinema and the press provide non-formal support to such an internalisation.

Ancient India's scientific achievements are to be reinterpreted in the modern context so that the youngsters are provided with an educational enviornment to raise the National esteem and imbibe the nationalism in them. It is education through which the scientific temper can be developed among the younger generation. □

Teaching English as a Second Language

MAMTA AGRAWAL

While preparing exercises in English as a second language, the teacher should keep in mind the language ability to be developed, the linguistic or thematic content to be covered and the level of the students. He should also remember that the purpose of exercises in the classroom is mainly to provide practice to the students for various language abilities

It has been a longstanding debate among educationists and psychologists as to when the second language should be introduced in schools: whether it should be introduced at the beginning or at the end of the primary stage, i.e at Class VI level Even the curriculum for the 10 year school, (A Framework) does not provide any definite answer to this problem but leaves it to be decided by the schools themselves by saying that "the second language may be introduced in the primary stage or in the middle stage". Therefore, seeing the ever-increasing need of English in the present day world and following the belief of many a psychologists and educationists that childhood is the best stage for language learning, many schools in India start teaching English right from Class I.

The systematic teaching of a second language in primary school needs a lot of teaching material in the form of textbooks, workbooks, pictures, charts, etc. Apart from these, the teachers need a lot of material that can be given to the students for practising different skills in the second language. This material is specially needed for the second language because it is introduced to the students in the classroom and they do not have opportunity of learning it through environment as they have in the case of their mother tongue or the first language.

The question arises as to why the teachers need extra practice material or the exercises. The textbook generally contains excercises at the end of the lesson. The answer is that the exercises given in the book are not sufficient enough for practising the four language skills at the primary stage as this is the time when the language has to be practised in such a way that it becomes a habit with the students. Therefore, every teacher of the second language has to

prepare his own exercises for use in the classroom in addition to the exercises given in the textbook

Before we take up the question of how to prepare exercises in English, we should be very clear as to what do we mean by exercises. Exercises in language are a series of activities used for attaining proficiency in the communication skills, i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing Thus in language, the exercises consist of a series of tasks used for practising the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing so that the students may be able to comprehend and express themselves in that language. These tasks or activities are repetitive in nature in order to automatize the use of the language Thus, all the questions, pattern practice drills, composition writing and other assignments which are used in the classroom for the purpose of teaching and learning of the second language may be called exercises For practising listening and speaking, the exercises will be oral and for reading and writing the exercises will be written. Whether the exercises are oral or written, they consist of some linguistic or thematic item which is to be mastered. It means that each exercise consists of two components—the language ability to be developed and the linguistic and thematic content. Thus, when the teacher prepares his own exercises, he should keep in mind which language ability he wants to develop in children and what will be the linguistic or thematic content of the exercise.

Exercises at Lower Primary Level

Lower primary level consists of Classes I and II. When the child comes to school, he already knows his mothertongue. He can understand his language orally and can express himself orally. But with English as a second language, this is his first encounter At this stage, the early exercises in English will consist of learning the English sounds and their written symbols After the children master these, simple words and sentences can be taught orally through objects, pictures, demonstration of actions, etc For example .

Teacher What are you doing ?
Pupils : I am jumping
I am reading
I am sleeping

The teacher can make the child do the action and say the action words or the teacher can point to a thing and ask the questions ·

Teacher What is this ?
Pupils : This is a pencil
This is a book
This is a bag

The teacher can also give certain commands like shut the door, come here, sit down, stand up and ask the children to do as asked.

This type of exercises will not only give children practice in listening and speaking but also build up their knowledge of English vocabulary and structural pattern

Regarding the reading exercises, the students learn the mechanics of reading at this stage. The teacher should use the textbook for drilling the students in reading But apart from the textbook, the children can be given exercises for recognition of letters both capital and small, words and small sentences which can be easily written on the board and the children can be asked to read them aloud, like :

Pat runs
The cat eats a rat.
My bag is red, etc.

The writing exercises at this stage are mainly concerned with the mechanics of writing but at the end of Class II, some expression aspect may also be taught In the beginning, the children should be given daily practice in writing the letters of English, both capital and small Once that has been mastered, small words can be taken up for writing, e g cat, mat, rat, bus, gun, etc. Gradually, short sentences can be written on the board and the children will reproduce them in their copybooks. In Class II, the children should be able to write dictations of simple words and also write short descriptions of a few familiar things like a dog, a cow, my house, etc. Thus, there will be a gradual advance from reproduction stage to expression stage During the process, the children will also learn the spelling of words and the use of capital letters and simple punctuation marks like commas and full stops

Exercises at Upper Primary Level

The Upper primary stage is from Class III to Class V. At this stage, the scope of the exercises will widen. Written exercises will be more as compared to oral exercises but the oral exercises will also continue For the listening and speaking exercises at this stage, the teacher can tell the students a story or read out a simple passage and then ask questions based on the story or the passage The questions should be simple and not have more than one sentence answers This exercise helps children in improving listening comprehension Another exercise that can be taken up in the classroom is the dialogue practice The teacher may prepare a short dialogue which will show the pupils how something is said in a particular situation. The dialogues may be practised by the whole class and then by groups consisting of 4 to 6 children as follows :

Why were you late today ?
I went to the clinic
What happened to you ?
I hurt my knee

or

Hellow John ! How are you ?
I am fine, thank you
What did you do on Sunday ?
I went to the beach and had a swim
It must have been lovely.
Yes, it was

This type of exercise will help the children improve their pronunciation as well as intonation which is a very important aspect of speech in English.

Class three onwards, the reading skill consists of not only the mechanics of reading but also reading for meaning, i e. at this level the children should develop the ability of reading comprehension Reading comprehension means that the pupil should be able to grasp the meaning of the passage and get at the central idea of the passage. He should be able to see the relationships between various objects, ideas, events, facts and characters, etc. At the end of the primary school, the child must be able to understand simple information, stories, instructions, etc. in English

For the practice in reading, the teacher may use the textbook but apart from the questions given in the end of the lesson, he should devise his own questions to help the students understand the passage better. At times, unseen passages of the same standard may also be taken up for practising reading comprehension with suitable questions at the end. The questions can be of objective type or of short answer type. But, the long answer—questions should be avoided as the children are not so proficient

at this stage in expressing themselves well. Under objective type questions, the true/false and multiple choice varieties are very useful for testing reading comprehension True/false type questions can be prepared quite easily too. Under short answer questions, the completion type questions, Yes/No answer questions and why questions can be easily prepared. Some examples of the types of questions that can be asked for reading comprehension are being given below :

1. When people sleep they must close their eyes But what about fish ? Have you ever seen a fish with its eyes closed ? No. Fishes do not close their eyes, but they still sleep. They sleep with their eyes open They have no eyelids and so they can not close their eyes.

Answer these questions :

(i) Do fishes sleep ?
(ii) What must people do when they sleep ?
(iii) Why cannot fishes close their eyes ?

Complete these sentences :

(i) Fish sleeps ... . .
(ii) People sleep . ..
(iii) The passage is about .

2. The gecko is a little lizard Geckos live in warm places all over the world. They eat insects Most of them come out only at night. They have sticky feet and they can walk on windows and upside down on the ceiling. Their tongues are long. This helps them to catch insects. They also lick their eyes with their tongue. This is how they clean their eyes.

Say whether the following sentences are true or false :

(i) A gecko is a kind of bird
(ii) Geckos live in warm places
(iii) Geckos like to eat insects.
(iv) Geckos catch insects with their feet.
(v) They have long tongues.
(vi) They come out in the day time
(vii) They clean their eyes with their tongues
(viii) Geckos can walk upside down

Writing exercises are very important at the upper primary stage and should be provided in abundance so that the students may learn to write good English. Writing exercises can vary from filling the blanks to writing short compositions. Filling the blanks, completing the sentences, writing the given sentences in another form, joining the pairs of sentences or writing sentences from substitution tables are some of the written exercises used for practising the grammatical structures at the primary stage For example :

I Join the following sentences with 'and' 'but' or 'so' :

(i) Rakesh likes tea. I like milk
(ii) I wanted to read a book I went to the library
(iii) Mohan cut the grass Sohan watered the plants

II Write the following sentences in negative for.

I went to school yesterday
Ram goes to his friend everyday
He reads a book.
They saw a big boat

III. Write as many correct sentences as you can from the following table :

I	want	to drink	some apples
He		to buy	that book
She		to read	the green dress
They	wants	to wear	a cup of tea
Mr Sharma		to play	a glass of milk.
Mrs Gupta			football
The children			

IV. Complete the following sentences. :

(i) I cut my finger when . . ..
(ii) She did not go by plane because . ...
(iii) I would like to.... . . . .

It is better to give oral practice with the above exercises before the teacher

makes the students write them because it reduces the chances of too many errors in writing.

The other type of exercises in writing are short compositions which provide practice in continuous writing. For this, the teacher can ask the students to write short paragraphs, letters, stories, dialogues, etc The compositions at this stage should be controlled and the topics should be from the experience of the students. Pictures can be used for writing small descriptions. The outlines of stories can be given and the children can be asked to expand it or the teacher can tell the story orally and ask the children to write it from memory. The children can be taught to write short letters to their friends or parents, etc. about something that they have seen or experienced Before making the students write the compositions, the teacher should discuss the given topic in the class so that the students know what they are supposed to write. Gradually, the teacher can take them from controlled compositions to free compositions □

Development of Personality Trait 'Regularity' Among Children

M.L. Kaul

Devrlopment of personality traits among school children is the primary duty of teachers to give individual attention to each and every child to help him develop desirable traits. To achieve this, teachers have to perform number of tasks like constant and careful observation of child's behaviour, maintenance of systematic cumulative record of observed behaviours of the child at regular intervals, etc.

In the words of the Education Commission (1964-66), "one of the main purposes of evaluation at the primary stage is to help the pupils to improve their achievement in the basic skills and to develop the right habits and attitudes with reference to the objectives of Primary Education". In the words of *Vernon Jones, D.H Mowrer* and *C Khuckhohn,* "Conceive personality mainly in terms of observable behaviour which is conditioned by the uniqueness of the particular stimulus in the concerned social set-up." *Raymond B. Cattel* has discussed in his book that "personality may be defined as that which tells what a man will do when placed in a given situation. By trait we mean some permanently and broad reaction."

Thus, there is a growing need for realising that the assessment of the all round development of personality of child should be given due emphasis in our evaluation programme at the primary stage and the classroom teachers shall have to make use of a number of techniques and tools.

Realising the importance of the personality traits of primary school children the present study was taken up. The investigator wanted to do some practical work with regard to the personality trait regularity at the primary school stage and wished to give some conclusions and suggestions regarding the development of the particular trait. So, it is believed that this study will be a good effort to see the effect of various factors on development of personality trait 'regularity' of primary school children with the following main objectives :

1. To know the extent to which personality traits of primary school children are being attended to and developed in our primary schools.
2. To know whether there are sex

differences in personality traits of primary school children.

3 To know whether there is any relationship between the economic status of the parents and the personality traits of the primary school children

4 To know whether the educational status of the parents is responsible for the personality development of the primary school children.

Sample Studied

It was considered desirable to include pupils from different strata of society in the sample of the present study. Therefore, one urban co-educational primary school with pupils from poor, middle and upper class families was selected for the study. The total number of pupils was 75 boys and 75 girls (150).

Analysis and Interpretation of data

The data derived through the methods and procedures described below are tabulated, analysed and interpreted. Tables are followed by their interpretations in the sequence in which one kind of data leads to another :

Table 1

Regularity

Percentage of the students showing degrees of regularity (Total)

	Very regular	Regular	Rarely regular
Actual cases	45	56	49
Percentage	30 00	37.33	23 67

Table 2

Percentage of students showing degrees of regularity (Class 5)

	Very regular	Regular	Rarely regular
Actual cases	23	19	18
Percentage	38.33	31.67	30 00

Table 3

Percentage of students showing degrees of regularity (Class 4)

	Very regular	Regular	Rarely regular
Actual cases	13	9	8
Percentage	43 33	30 00	26 67

Table 4

Percentage of students showing degrees of regularity (Class 3)

	Very regular	Regular	Rarely regular
Actual cases	5	16	9
Percentage	16.67	53 33	30 00

Table 5

Percentage of students showing degrees of regularity (Class 2)

	Very regular	Regular	Rarely regular
Actual cases	4	12	14
Percentage	13 33	40 00	46 67

Tables 2,3,4 and 5 give the impression that the results vary from one class to another except Classes 4 and 5

The students of Class 2 may not be conscious of the importance of regularity or perhaps the teachers are not taking a serious note of their regularity. The students of the Classes 5 and 4 seem to be more or less equally regular

Table 1 depicts that 67 33% students are very regular or regular out of the total number of 150 students and 32 67% pupils out of the same number are rarely regular. The present position provokes the investigator to say that there should be a specific requirement of continued observation of children's behaviour by teachers in school.

Table 6

Sex differences on regularity of all the four classes

	Class							
	5		4		3		2	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
N	30	30	15	15	15	15	15	15
M	2.008	2 403	2 148	2 282	1 895	2 095	1 602	1 842
SD	729	659	709	709	653	632	437	639
	s		n.s		n s		n.s	

Table 6 shows that the girls of all the four classes are more or less regular than the boys But differences existing in classes 4, 3 and 2 are not significant at any level while as the C R. of Class 5 is only significant at 01 level Except Class 5 the sex does not seem to be making any difference here.

Table 7

Educational level of father and the degree of regularity of their wards

Educational level of father	Very regular		Regular		Rarely regular	
	Actual	Percentage	Actual	%	Actual	%
B A. and above	15	55 55	11	40 74	1	3 71
Matric to below B.A.	14	35 89	14	35 89	11	28 20
Below Matric	15	17 86	34	40 48	35	41 66

X^2=22 831 Significant at 01 level

Since greater percentage of students having fathers of higher educational level are very regular or regular than that of students having fathers of lower educational level The value of chi-square has come out to be 22 831 which is significant at 01 level. Thus, education seems to be significantly related to the degree of regularity.

Table 8

Economic level of father and the degree of regularity of their wards

Economic level of father	very regular		Regular		Rarely regular	
	Actual	%	Actual	%	Actual	%
Above 500	9	52.94	6	45.29	2	11.71
200—500	28	47.84	32	43.24	14	18.92
Below 200	7	11 86	22	37 29	30	50.85

X^2=24 825 Significant at .01 level

The value of chi-square has come out to be 24.825 which is significant at 01 level. It shows that the economic level of father has got some influence on the development of the personality trait regularity

Findings

1. Sex does not seem to make any difference in the development of the personality trait regularity except in Class 5.
2. Class does not seem to make any difference in the degree of the trait regularity.
3. Education of the parents seems to be significantly related to the degree of trait regularity.
4. Income of the parents seems to be significantly related to the degree of the trait regularity.

Suggestions

It is suggested that in order to help the teachers at primary school level to make the proper observation of the personality traits of primary school children, the State Institute of Education (SIE) should train the teachers of some schools regarding the use of rating scales on the basis of systematic observation of pupils behaviour in the first phase.

The concerned authorities like DEOs, supervisors, TEOs and BEOs should also be given orientation regarding the proper use of rating scales Headmasters of Primary and Middle Schools may be oriented in a phased manner regarding the use of the rating scales before the scales are introduced in a large number of schools in any state. The SIEs should take up some empirical studies regarding the impact of different curricular and co-curricular programmes on the development of personality traits of primary school children. □

Teaching Elementary School Mathematics

RAKESH CHILANA
Sawan Public School New Delhi

Mathematics is the queen of all sciences. It figures among the 3 R's of fundamental education for all. Teaching and learning of mathematics in early classes provides the foundation for further growth and development. Nepolean rightly observed that "the progress and the improvement of mathematics are linked to the prosperity of the state."

The famous quotation, 'mathematics is the queen of all sciences' is enough proof to show the importance of teaching this subject in schools Mathematics plays an important role not only in learning science subjects like Physics, Chemistry and Engineering but its role in Agriculture, Astronomy, Astrology and Accountancy is equally important. In fact, this is also necessary even for small professions like shopkeeping and tailoring, etc. Truely, learning mathematics is every body's concern. This is why it figures among the 3 R's of fundamental compulsory education for all. Knowledge of mathematics is important not only for an individual but it is equally essential for social development. Nepolean rightly observed, "The progress and the improvement of mathematics are linked to the prosperity of the state."

The foundation for learning mathematics is laid in elementary schools. Teaching and learning of mathematics in early classes provides the foundation for further growth and development. If a child considers the learning of mathematics as an uphill task, he would start hating the subject. Stress in learning numbers and tables by note memory in the past created such a drudgery that the students found mathematics as a dull subject This led to creation of frustration among children. New trends in elementary mathematics emphasise learning through play and discovery. Now the scope of the subject matter has also been broadened from greater understanding and the application of the wider range of abilities developed in the classroom to the active life situations.

This basic objective of teaching mathematics is to make sure that the mathematical knowledge is brought to function in the day-to-day activities of the children. The emphasis today is to help the children

understand the structure of the number system and also to understand how it operates. The children should also be able to communicate the ideas involving quantitative relationships. Above all, the children must develop an appreciation of the role of mathematics in the scientific progress in our societies The seeds of development of this type of attitude can be sown only in elementary classes.

The subject matter in elementary classes needs to be planned very carefully The curriculum should take into consideration the age factor of the children in different classes Mathematical concepts should be graded in such a way that there is a proper sequence in their growth and development. It is equally important that methodology of teaching mathematics is planned with full care and ample understanding of the children's needs We must not ignore that the best method to be taught is when the taught does not feel that he is being taught. This brings home to us that playway techniques will serve the best in learning of mathematics at the elementary stage Books on mathematical recreation have proved that the students feel more interested when there are number games This helps to arouse the student's curiosity and to consider mathematics as the science of behaviour of numbers. In this way, students see mathematics as a live subject and they enjoy learning it as fun rather than as a burden.

Keeping in view the objectives and methodology of teaching, it is necessary that the orientation of teacher and atmosphere of the school is properly geared. Learning of mathematics can hardly be limited only to the classroom and to what is contained in the textbooks. A good elementary school teacher has the responsibility to tap numerous resources before handling a classroom lesson. He has also to explore and indicate further materials and sources which students may later use for deepening their understanding of new concepts of mathematics. The emphasis should be on application of the new knowledge in the actual life situations The elementary school teacher will fail in his duty if he does not relate the new knowledge with the immediate environment of the children School may also provide special recreational arithematic periods. Co-curricular activities and mathematics clubs have also significant place. Decoration on school walls may signify mathematical knowledge so as to excite children and to bring about novelty and arouse curiosity among children. Even the cultural programme and excursions may serve as the tools of learning mathematics.

Creation of interest in mathematics should be one of the foremost objectives of an elementary school teacher. All care must be taken that there is no element of boredom in learning mathematical concepts It must be remembered that creation and maintenance of interest will pave the way for development of precision, accuracy in the young minds It will surely bring the rich harvest in terms of better adults to promote the faster development of the society. The wisdom of *Comte* is worth remembering: "All scientific education which does not commence with mathematics, is of necessity, defective at its foundation." Let us, therefore, realize the importance of teaching mathematics at the elementary stage and adopt suitable approaches to organise its learning in an outside classroom situations □

News and Views

Updating Teachers for Tomorrow's Technology

A new publication from the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, Ohio presents an overall strategy for meeting the technological updating needs of secondary and post-secondary vacational/technical teachers. The document is designed for use by those faced with providing technological update: local school and district administrators, professional development leaders, business—industry representatives and State and Federal department of education personnel.

Concerned with the design and implementation of technological update programme, the strategy offered consists of nine characteristics: (a) Structure for Action, (b) Roles and Responsibilities, (c) Policy, (d) Resources, (e) Incentives and Rewards, (f) High-potential Techniques (g) Alternative Technique Configurations, (h) Incorporation of Update in Programmes, (i) Continuing and Self-renewing Activities

Development of the characteristics stemmed from a panel of experts' recommendations The panel representing business, industry and education also formulated recommendations for Federal, State and local policy makers.

Education and Jobs in Technological World

This publication by H.M. Levin examines many controversial issues of how high technology may affect jobs and education

The publication discusses the debate over whether high technology will strongly affect employment and levels of job skill requirements and whether the effects will ultimately be more positive or more negative Finally, it offers interpretive insights into the related issue of general education versus specialized education and recommends an overall, recurrent education system that would extend throughout the lifespan

Levin is director of Stanford University's Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance. Development of this publication was sponsored by the Office of Vocational and Adult Education U.S Department of Education.

Workshop on "Mother and Child Care"

"Mother and Child Care "Care" Workshop was held at Ratnagiri from 15th to 20st October 1984 Representatives of All India Radio and Unicef participated in the Workshop. 130 participants attended it.

Orientation of Maths and Science Teachers

The Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Nagpur Divisional Board, Nagpur organised a three day Orientation Course in

Maths and Science for Science Teachers of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts, as per suggestions of the State Board, Pune The Orientation was organised in view of the SSC examination, March 1985 which is going to be conducted as per revised syllabus.

Conference on Status of Women

A conference on "Status of women through Curriculum" was jointly organised by NCERT and SNDT University, Bombay from 9th to 12th October 1984. Women delegates from various Institutes from different states participated

Free Education to Girls upto HSC in Maharashtra

Shri Vasantrao Patil, Chief Minister of Maharastra announced free education to girl students upto HSC from the present SSC on the birth anniversary of Smt. Indira Gandhi It is proposed to convert 14 Girl's colleges and 60 Girl's schools into grant in aid institutions from the June 1985 academic year. Besides, the Government would construct a Girl's hostel in each of the 300 talukas of the State.

This scheme would benefit 2,30,000 girls in the State, added Education minister Shri Sudhakar Naik.

Punjab to Introduce 10+2 System

The Punjab Government has decided to introduce the 10+2 system from the 1986-87 academic session. An official spokesman stated that the syllabi in Mathematics and Science were being revised for the higher classes. Orientation programmes for teachers would be organised.

The Education Department is conisdering a proposal to introduce the N.C E R T syllabi from Ist to 10th Class The Punjab Board of School Education has been directed to take necessary steps in this regard

Training Course in Computer Working

The Haryana State Institute of Public Administration in collaboration with Punjab University conducted a 12-day training course on "Computer in Government" at Chandigarh. The course acquainted the participants with the working of computers and their applications in Government offices.

Competition at Chandigarh

Competitions in painting, clay modelling, needle work, handicrafts, fabric painting, flower arrangement, rangoli and paper cuttings for school children belonging to the age group 4-19 was held at the Bal Bhavan at Chandigarh. More than 7 500 children participated in the competition. The Finance Secretary of Chandigarh Administration, Shri B.R. Bajaj, gave away prizes to the winners of the competition.

Bravery Award for Punjab and Haryana Children

Fifteen children—twelve boys and three girls, between the age of five and sixteen have been selected for the 1984 National Award for Bravery from all over the country. These included Rajbir Singh (9) of Bahadurgarh in Haryana, Ravul Jindal (13) of Patiala and Ganesh Kumari (13) of Kalka in Haryana.

Science Education Programme

An orientation course for teacher Educators in the subjects of Science and

Mathematics of Government. Teachers' Training Institutes, Punjab was organised by State Council of Educational Research and Training The staff of State Institute of Science Education made elaborate preparations to impart intensive training in the teaching of science and mathematics and the use of primary science kit.

HM Wins National Award for Teachers

Shri Sudhir Chandra Joardar, a Head master of Primary school at Subhashgram, Diglipur (North Andaman) has been selected for National Award for Teachers, 1984 for his outstanding work in primary education. He joined the Education Department of A & N Administration in 1981 The award carries a cash prize and a citation.

Girl-students win honours

A total of 804 students from local educational institutions participated in Essay and painting competitions in connection with Navy Week Celebration. The girls students made a clean sweep in the Essay Competition and showed better performance in painting competition also

Tribal students won 'Subrato'

This year Car Nicobar school team won Subrato Mukherjee Memorial Football Cup, at New Delhi, recently. This is the fourth time that they have shown excellent performance

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विद्या ऽमृतमश्नुते

एन सी ई आर टी
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राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

Thoreau's term into Hindi with a new word *"Satyagraha"*—roughly translated "soul-force"—which he formed from the Sanskrit word *"satya"* for "truth," and *"agraha"* for "steadfast grasping."

Satyagraha, he explained, "does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." Through *Satyagraha,* he believed, "it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration."

As a result of Gandhi's first experiment in deliberate mass civil disobedience, Smuts's jails soon were overflowing with thousands of Indians. Gandhi said free men should learn to enter prison "as willingly as the groom goes into the bridal chamber." By courting jail whenever a law violated his conscience, a man could resist the unjust law while affirming respect for Law.

What more respect, he said, could be shown than for a minority to say to the majority, "We cannot obey your law which we consider unjust, but we recognize your right to make laws. Until we can persuade you to change this law, we belong in prison. We hope our presence there will cause you to reconsider."

When Smuts did reconsider, release his prisoners, and promise to amend the law, Gandhi's new techniques of struggle seemed triumphant. But then the pressure of the Europeans led Smuts to repudiate his promise, and Gandhi promptly invited his followers to another course of suffering. Again the jails filled, but this time the course lasted several years.

Gradually the early enthusiasts found reasons not to invite further terms in prison, and the majority deserted Gandhi. In 1912, he reported sadly to friends in India, where his exploits were being followed with excitement, that he estimated that there remained a maximum of only sixty-six and a minimum of sixteen who would fight on even if it meant life imprisonment.

However, harsh new racial ordinances were soon put into effect which aroused new readiness for the ordeal of *Satyagraha.* Gandhi sent his women disciples into the coal mines to court arrest by calling on the workers to strike. His earlier magic seemed to return, and thousands of miners struck.

He then summoned all Indians to leave their homes and proceed with him across state borders without their "Asiatic" passport papers

in violation of the law. Again the response was far better than he had expected.

On October 28, 1913, when Gandhi's peaceful army of over five thousand started across the plains of Natal, he had more men at his command than Clive had at Plassey, Washington at Valley Forge, or Bolivar at Boyaca. At the border of the Transvaal, Gandhi encountered a wall of armed police. He walked straight into their guns, his unarmed thousands followed, and the police withdrew without shooting.

Although Gandhi himself was arrested, the march continued with disciplined nonviolence. Finally the government arrested the marchers, and sent the workers back to mines which were declared out-stations of the Newcastle jails.

A few weeks before the outbreak of World War I, Smuts again yielded, appointed a commission of inquiry, released the prisoners, and promised to meet most of Gandhi's terms. This time he lived up to his word. The Indian Relief Bill, subsequently passed by the South African Union Parliament, guaranteed some of the specific rights for which Gandhi had fought.

Gandhi's program of struggle and suffering had had a profound effect on many Indians and some Europeans. "I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all," one of Smuts's secretaries explained, "but what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. . . . And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness."

In the early days of the struggle, Smuts had said: "The Asiatic cancer which has already eaten so deeply into the vitals of South Africa, ought to be resolutely eradicated." Yet before the struggle had ended, Smuts sent books for Gandhi to read in prison, and Gandhi reciprocated by sending him a pair of sandals made on his Tolstoy Farm outside Johannesburg.

Later on Gandhi's seventieth birthday, Smuts sent these sandals back to him in India, to show that he, an "old friend," had cherished them. In the accompanying note Smuts said, "I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man."

In the harsh judgment of the history of power politics, Gandhi's nonviolent efforts were not a clear-cut success in Africa. Forty years

afterward racial discrimination in the form of *Apartheid* constituted a growing and disfiguring blight on South African society. And even while Gandhi was experimenting with his new nonviolent kind of revolutionary effort in Africa, Sun Yat-sen's followers had, by contrast, forcibly overthrown the Manchu dynasty. Lenin, after participating in the ill-fated revolution of 1905, was reorganizing his Bolshevik party on the paramilitary basis which was destined to capture the Russian state.

Still Gandhi always looked on South Africa as the best demonstration of his techniques of nonviolent resistance. Since his efforts had been limited to the Indian minority, which was outnumbered ten to one, the obstacles were far greater than he would later find in India. There, with a vast and potentially controlling majority of his countrymen with which to work, he was to demonstrate convincingly the massive power of his new approach. Meanwhile the very fact that the Gandhian Revolution originated in Africa was advance notice that its ultimate scope would not be limited to India alone.

CHAPTER 17

India Tries Gandhi's Way

MUCH had happened in India since the bloody terror after the Mutiny of 1857. The very extremes of that repression had led the British Parliament in the following year to pass "An Act for Better Government in India." This act formally transferred ruling power from the hands of the East India Company to the crown.

Then by act of Parliament the company's armies were absorbed into the royal service. Its Governor-General became the Queen's Viceroy, and in a fabulous Durbar in Delhi in 1877, Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India.

This brightest jewel in Victoria's crown, however, was hardly secure. In the period of her accession, an English civil servant, Allan Octavian Hume, concluded from the study of seven volumes of reports that the growing political discontent in India was going underground. An alternative to violent rebellion, he decided, was urgently needed.

Some Indians still insist that Hume wanted merely to open a safety valve for discontent, the better to preserve British rule. If so he inadvertently helped forge the mechanism for the revolution that eventually set India free.

In any event in 1883, to the graduates of Calcutta University, he proposed that leading Indians from all over the subcontinent gather together in an annual unofficial parliament, an Indian National Congress. "If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders," he said, "the thing can be established. . . . Men know how to act."

The first session of Congress convened in Bombay, with Hume on hand to say the opening words to the gathering of editors, lawyers, professors and business leaders. According to a British historian, the "ill-starred measures of reaction combined with Russian methods of police repression" in the years following the Mutiny, had brought India "within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak, and it was only in time that Mr. Hume was inspired to intervene."

But Congress found that it could not solve the problems and conflicts of India merely by petitioning the crown. When Gandhi returned in 1915, the cult of violence had grown again, and Congress itself had become increasingly militant in its demands for home rule. With Gandhi's return, Congress was gradually to become the vehicle for the new kind of revolution which he had introduced into Africa.

Of course, Gandhi was by no means the only important Indian revolutionary of the period. His views were rarely accepted without challenge. But if the Indian Revolution was anyone's, it was Gandhi's, and it is his story which is important for our survey of revolutions.

Gandhi started his first small *Satyagraha* in India in the spring of 1917, a few months before Lenin arrived in Petrograd for his final effort to capture the Russian Revolution. China was then in the midst of the unresolved struggles of the warlords into which Sun's revolution had fallen.

By the time Gandhi took over the Indian National Congress and molded it into an instrument for nonviolent revolution, Communists were claiming that the new Soviet state had finally proved that they had made a science out of class struggle. The first Indians were already making their way over the old caravan route to Moscow to see if Lenin really had discovered how to release the energies of feudal peasants and to catapult a backward society into the twentieth century.

Gandhi saw that Communism might find a ripe field in India. The poverty and exploitation of the people made the whole subcontinent one of the weakest links in the chain of Western imperialism, the kind of link which Lenin thought he knew how to break.

The growing revolutionary temper among the educated young people, particularly of Bengal, provided a natural base for a party like Lenin's. In 1912 a fanatic had hurled a bomb at the viceroy as

he entered Delhi on a regal elephant. Subhas Bose, who later during World War II was to escape from a British prison to fight alongside the Japanese, had attracted some attention when he participated with a gang of fellow students in attacking and badly injuring an English teacher who had allegedly insulted India.

To increase the tempo of unrest World War I had drawn thousands of Indian troops to assignments in the Middle East and Europe. The developments in Western science and technology that these men actually saw, combined with their highly colored reports, further increased revolutionary ferment in India.

Gandhi knew that Communism in India called for far more than a British exodus and the establishment of an Indian government. It would be a highly organized, fundamental social revolution, in which the peasants would be called upon to break their feudal bonds, kill the landlords, and seize the land. As such, he knew that it would have much more appeal and potential power than earlier outbursts of diffused violence like the Mutiny of 1857.

But he was unalterably opposed to the dogma of violence on which Communism was based. "Some day," he prophesied in speaking of Communism, "this ruthlessness will create an anarchy worse than we have ever seen."

To hope that a good society would emerge from such violence or from the party dictatorship which Communism proposed as a first step, was to him like "saying that we can get a rose through planting a noxious weed." Communism, he said, "forgets that the remedy that it seeks to employ is worse than the disease."

Yet in a sense Gandhi saw Communism as a welcome challenge to those who believed that revolutionary change could be achieved without bloodshed. "The cataclysm that is sweeping over the earth today is a great sign," he said. "As a chaotic force it is pernicious, but it has at its back a noble object . . . it desires reform, it seeks the reign of equity and justice."

It was encouraging, he felt, that all over the world men were ready for revolution and that the exploited and oppressed and forgotten were demanding an end to the old order. He agreed with the Communists that there was a disease for which a cure was necessary. He agreed that a change of government was not enough. There must be a complete revolution extending into every village and com-

munity. Yet on the nature of that revolution he disagreed with the Communists with all the vigor he could summon.

Gandhi's personal acceptance of responsibility for the fight against injustice everywhere, and his resolve to do something about it, were not new. Religious leaders in all ages have decided that they should be their brothers' keepers. But modern science and technology had now provided the means by which a far larger measure of responsible action to end poverty and injustice was politically and economically practicable.

Although he, himself, was suspicious of many aspects of modern technology, Gandhi's first efforts in India were nevertheless designed to bring about an awareness of the practicable opportunities for justice. To identify himself with the poor of India, he adopted the simple dress of the peasant, he spoke Hindustani, he traveled only third class ("because there is no fourth class"), and he made his home in village huts. "Go to the villages" was his message to the educated young people and to their leaders who were living aloof in the great westernized cities, as separate from the life of the 600,000 villages of India as though they were on a different continent—as separate as the Czarist nobility had been from the Russian people.

Gandhi was distressed to find the Indian National Congress largely a party of the educated and well born. It had almost no roots in the villages, and indeed no program except the goal of self-government, *Swaraj,* which was to be achieved by the usual kind of liberal agitation, parading and petitioning. "The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor laboring class near by cannot last one day in a free India, in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land," Gandhi warned the Congress.

On his first visit to an annual Congress session, he had found the camp's latrines uncared for. When his fellow Congress workers told him this was the outcaste's or untouchable's work, he found a broom and did the cleaning himself.

The revolution which he proposed had to begin first in the life of the revolutionary. The voluntary acceptance of austerity and disciplined village service by the creative, educated people would combine with the power of the awakening peasants and workers. Out of

this association would come a democratic and peaceful revolution that would achieve *Ramaraj* as well as *Swaraj*, that is good government as well as self-government.

Gradually Gandhi persuaded Congress to add the two new dimensions to political action which he had developed in South Africa: constructive service and nonviolent struggle. He introduced a fourteen-point program, which included the removal of untouchability by direct acts of association, tolerance of all religious beliefs, sanitation, improvement of the position of women, the encouragement of village industries, the use of only homespun "khadi" cloth, and the daily democratizing discipline of spinning. Such a program, he believed, was necessary for the complete revolution.

Gandhi thought that by carrying out this program personally, and introducing it to every village, Indians rich and poor would begin to acquire the habits and the institutions of democracy. "The English have not taken India; we have given it to them," he said. "It is *Swaraj* when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands."

Nor was he long in introducing civil disobedience. In Bihar, when exploited indigo plantation workers called their plight to his attention, he decided to make a careful investigation. The authorities served an order on him to leave the district. He disobeyed it, was arrested, and pleaded guilty at the trial.

Then with the whole district on the verge of eruption because of his arrest, he was released. After he had gathered statements from twenty thousand landless tenants, the British agreed to appoint a committee of inquiry, and eventually the worst grievances were met.

In 1919, brushing aside the promises of sweeping reforms made during the war, the British imposed new restrictions on civil liberties. Gandhi promptly asked the country to join him in this pledge: "We solemnly affirm that . . . we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws . . . and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The Congress itself voted to join the experiment. The national fervor grew, and the British replied with violence. In Amritsar a mass meeting refused to disperse. The British general in command ordered his troops to open fire, and over a thousand were killed.

Gandhi then called for complete non-cooperation with the British, including a boycott of British titles, jobs and goods. To the militant,

anti-British Bengal terrorists he said, "I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful nonco-operation a trial."

As Gandhi's first civil resisters began to court jail, the news of India's surging struggle began to reach Russia, where it awakened the imagination of Leon Trotsky. In a memorandum to the Communist Central Committee in the summer of 1919, Trotsky pointed to the promising revolutionary situation in India and suggested that the pressure of Russian Communism should be shifted from West to East.

The Red Army, Trotsky thought, might find the road to India even shorter and easier than the road to what was then Soviet Hungary. He forwarded to the Central Committee a plan by a fellow Red officer for the formation of an expeditionary cavalry corps to move across the center of Asia to assist colonial India to rise against the British.

But Gandhi seemed to be doing quite well with his own strange methods. From his cell young Jawaharlal Nehru sensed that the country was ready to rise in one strike for independence. More than fifty thousand Indians had received jail sentences for their nonviolent disobedience.

Then a Congress procession in the United Provinces ran amuck, killing twenty-two policemen. Gandhi, deeply disappointed, suspended the whole campaign, undertook a fast, and directed Congress back to the constructive program of village service. He said he had made a "Himalayan miscalculation" in believing that Indians were ready for the discipline of nonviolent struggle.

In jail Nehru and his colleagues angrily resented the suspension, but Gandhi remained in good spirits. Sentenced to a six-year term, he gaily reported from prison, "I am happy as a bird"—signed, "M. K. Gandhi, Number 827."

"I knew I was playing with fire," Gandhi had told the court. "I ran the risk, and if I am set free, I will still do the same again." When he was released in 1924, however, Gandhi decided that the country needed some more years of constructive service in the villages before a second course of struggle and suffering. Such service, he believed, provided the same essential training for his soldiers of nonviolence as parades and maneuvers provided for the military.

Gandhi rejected the criticism of his tactics by Congress leaders who wanted an all-out struggle for immediate independence. Gandhi's

objective was not simply to drive the British out, but to drive them out in a way that prepared Indians to govern themselves as well. He wanted something more than "English rule without the Englishman," which he said was "the tiger's nature, but not the tiger."

He sought a "moral, nonviolent revolution in all the departments of life of a big nation, at the end of which caste and untouchability and such other superstitions must vanish, differences between Hindu and Muslim become things of the past, enmity against Englishmen or Europeans must be wholly forgotten." A social revolution must be designed to produce a "casteless and classless society," with decentralized, democratic "village republics."

"We will not be able to leave India happier than when we were born," he said, unless in seeking freedom, Congress practiced the principles of nonviolence and service to which many of its leaders gave only lip service. He did not think Congress would suddenly learn how to practice those principles while in the corrupting position of power. For him there was "no road for bringing about a social revolution except that we should represent it in every detail of our lives."

* * *

BY 1930, the revolutionary temper of the people again was steadily growing. An organizing mission of British Communists had established the Communist party of India, and it had gained a foothold in the labor movement. Its leaders, including some of the British Communists who settled in India, had been tried as conspirators and sentenced to long prison terms.

Gandhi saw that the very respect for jail-going which he had created and encouraged was now adding to Communist strength. Furthermore, Gandhi's way was now being challenged by militants in the Congress itself, young men like Subhas Bose who were courting jail on their own. As a political master, Gandhi knew that in his alternating rhythm of service and struggle, the time had come for another struggle.

On January 26, 1930, Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence which began with a ring familiar to any American: "We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people . . ."

With its phrases taken from the American Declaration of 1776, it was read to vast mass meetings throughout the country. "If any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. . . ."

India awaited Gandhi's word on how to launch the new battles. His minimum demands were laid down in a letter to the viceroy. They included the discharge of all political prisoners, the reduction of the land taxes on peasants, the lifting of the ban on village salt production, and abolition of the salt tax which impinged on village life.

"I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint," Gandhi wrote. "As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil." Unless the viceroy agreed to his demands, he would violate the salt laws and ask all Indians to do likewise.

City-bred, Congress party leaders for whom the salt ban meant nothing at first expressed their skepticism. "We were bewildered," wrote Nehru, "and could not quite fit in a national struggle with common salt."

Then Gandhi announced that on March 12, 1930, he would leave his *ashram* at Ahmadabad and march two hundred miles to the sea at Dandi, where regardless of British law he would make salt. Then, said Nehru, "Salt suddenly became a mysterious word, a word of power."

On the appointed day Gandhi briskly stepped into the narrow lane, vowing never to return to his beloved *ashram* until *Swaraj* had been achieved. "We act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed," he said. "We are marching in the name of God."

For twenty-four days, the country almost held its breath. En route to Dandi, two hundred Indian village officers resigned their prized government posts to join the struggle. Hundreds of thousands from all walks of life lined the road most of the way, to see the Mahatma swinging by in quick strides, waving his long walking stick, joking gaily with his strange kind of fellow revolutionaries.

On the night of April 5, the band reached the beach. Gandhi said: "God willing, I expect with my companions to commence actual civil disobedience at six-thirty tomorrow morning." At sunrise, after his usual prayer meeting, he bathed in the sea and then reached down on the salt beach and raised up a handful of salt.

This simple act of taking salt from God's ocean in defiance of one of man's greatest empires said more to the peasants of India about freedom than any number of readings of the recent Declaration of Independence. "It seemed as though a spring had been suddenly released," Nehru said. "As we saw the abounding enthusiasm of the people and the way salt-making was spreading like a prairie fire, we felt a little abashed and ashamed."

Although thousands were arrested, including Nehru, Gandhi remained free. He wrote the viceroy that he intended to lead a nonviolent raid on a government salt depot. His arrest two days later only increased the disobedience. Soon nearly 100,000 Indians, including 12,000 Muslims, were on their way to jail, and far more than that had peacefully borne up under ruthless lathi charges by mounted police.

The salt raid which Gandhi had planned was carried out in his absence in prison, and remains one of the historic feats of the Indian Revolution. Twenty-five hundred volunteers, pledged to absolute nonviolence, participated in the mass attack. Advancing in small groups into the barbed-wire area where armed police guarded the salt, each human wave was struck down by police lathi charges.

Soon the unconscious bodies lay strewn on bloody ground. Still the Gandhians marched straight into the forbidden area, not even raising their hands in protection. By the end of the day, three hundred were seriously wounded and two died. The discipline of absolute nonviolence had been maintained, and Gandhi in his prison cell was overjoyed.

What pleased him most was the news that Gaffar Khan, the "frontier Gandhi," a tall Muslim leader of the Northwest Frontier Province, had successfully led large numbers of fierce Muslim Pathans into disciplined civil disobedience. Despite their brutal treatment at the hands of the police, these men whose heritage was military violence had not raised a hand in retaliation.

The London *Daily Herald*'s correspondent in India reported: "Incalculable disaster may yet be avoided by the frank recognition that the imprisoned Mahatma now incarnates the very soul of India."

Then the Viceroy, Lord Irwin who later became Lord Halifax, unconditionally released the Congress leaders, and invited Gandhi to confer with him. Winston Churchill was not pleased by the news.

"It is alarming and also nauseating," he said, "to see Mr. Gandhi,

a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace, while he is still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

Gandhi reached an agreement with Irwin, a deeply tolerant and religious man himself. The struggle was suspended, and Gandhi accepted an invitation to attend the second round-table conference in London on Indian self-government, a first conference having been held the year before without representation of the Congress leaders.

This time the British proved ready to take further steps toward Indian participation in the government of India, but they were not ready to meet Gandhi's minimum terms. In the end he had to announce his failure, and return to India for more struggle and service. Lord Irwin had been replaced with a viceroy who lacked his vision, and soon the official policy was to try Churchill's prescription of firmness. When Gandhi arrived home, he found many Congress leaders already in jail.

The British then announced separate electorates for untouchables. In London Gandhi had vowed that he would resist this measure with his life. He grasped the opportunity to shift the country once more from the frontal assault on colonial rule back to the steady task of political and social construction.

He embarked on a "fast unto death," to be ended only if the British withdrew their plan which, he believed, would permanently divide India and forever establish the untouchables as outcastes. Such a fast, he said, was the nonviolent revolutionary soldier's last resort in place of the sword.

For six days the nation responded again with a fever of activity. Hindu temples were opened to untouchables for the first time, and high caste and untouchable leaders came to a solemn agreement for the end of discrimination.

Nehru, who had first greeted Gandhi's suspension of the political struggle with his "heart sinking" and who had said he was "annoyed with him for choosing a side issue for his final sacrifice," noted "the tremendous upheaval" and wrote: "What a magician was this little man sitting in Yervada Prison, and how well he knew how to pull the strings that move people's hearts."

Gandhi's life now depended solely on the decision of the British

cabinet. At the end of a week without food and shortly after the jail doctors announced that their patient had entered the danger zone, the imperial cabinet saved the life of its chief foe by suddenly reversing its solemn decision.

"Fasting," Gandhi remarked, "stirs up sluggish consciences and fires loving hearts to action." He named the untouchables "Harijans" or "Children of God" and said that his life had been in their hands. After his release from jail some months later, he commenced walking tours on their behalf which took him into every corner of India.

The Salt March had not achieved independence, but Gandhi was cheered by the increasing self-reliance of the Indian people and by the growing evidence of widespread understanding and support in England and the West. He experienced this at first hand in the warm reception given him by many Englishmen during his trip to the London conference in 1931, and in the British agitation to save his life during his epic fast.

The father of Jawaharlal Nehru, lying on his deathbed at the height of this second great struggle, was thus prophetic when he said to Gandhi, "I am going soon, Mahatmaji, and I shall not be here to see *Swaraj*. But I know that you have won it and will soon have it."

CHAPTER 18

Freedom for One-Fifth of Mankind

SUBHAS BOSE, the advocate of direct militant action, called Gandhi's suspension of the struggle in 1933 a "confession of failure." Yet not long after the suspension, the British enacted the Government of India Act of 1935, granting a large measure of self-government in the provinces. While this was not in any way viewed by the British as a concession to Gandhi, few doubted that it was a response to the powerful national movement Gandhi had been leading for nearly twenty years. In 1937 elections on a limited franchise were actually held in the provinces, and the Congress emerged victorious in nine of them, including the Muslim-majority province of the Northwest Frontier.

Although Gandhi would accept no office, his Congress party formed provincial governments, and for the first time felt political responsibility. Ten years later, the British left India altogether, and the anticolonial stage of the Indian Revolution was completed.

The Communists, of course, always considered Gandhi an obstacle to their kind of class revolution. Their 1939 International instructed party members to combat strongly tendencies "like Gandhism in India" which was said to "preach passivity" and "repudiate the class struggle." For the Communists, Gandhism was "a reversion to . . . backward forms."

As recently as 1954, the new edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* attacked Gandhi as "reactionary, a descendant of

usurers," an "exploiter of religious prejudices," who "aped the ascetics in a demogogic way," and "actively helped British imperialism" against the Zulus in South Africa.

Perhaps this bitterness reflects the fact that the Communists in India never succeeded in winning any mass support as long as Gandhi was alive, and they have had very little solid support there since. The appeal they did have stemmed largely from their claim to qualities associated with Gandhi: a concern about injustice, identification with the poor, and a readiness to suffer.

In 1947 when the British decided to quit India, it was hard not to conclude that this little man weighing scarcely 110 pounds, armed only with a tall walking stick and the weapon of *Satyagraha*, was in large measure responsible. Nor was there any doubt that the friendship between India and Britain, on which a reconstituted Commonwealth was based, owed much of its foundation to the weapons with which Gandhi had carried on the struggle.

What a strange and magnificent climax for an anticolonial revolution! The massed bands of the colorful Indian Army regiments side by side with that of the Scottish Highlanders, playing "God Save the King." The white ensign of the King-emperor descending slowly from the flag staffs. Then the saffron, green and white flag of free India, with Gandhi's spinning wheel in the center, rising proudly. Together the bands playing the Indian national anthem, once sung only by the revolutionaries.

In many parts of India the scene was repeated. Everywhere British governors, administrators, officers and men were cheered by enthusiastic crowds, and no one seemed more popular at that moment than the viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, the cousin of the King-emperor, who had announced when he came that he would be the *last* viceroy. Mountbatten invested Nehru with the prime ministership, and Nehru requested the King to appoint Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of Free India.

The continuing friendship of Britain and India, which now contributes so much to the stability of the non-Communist world, reflects profound credit to the generosity and decency of the peoples of both nations and their leaders. When the colonial government was at its worst, the first voices raised in protest were often in the House of Commons. From the English, Gandhi himself said he learned among other things, "punctuality, reticence, public hygiene,

independent thinking and exercise of judgment." Indians today are frank to recognize Britain's role in establishing a united nation under one law.

The very success of Gandhi's nonviolent techniques was probably an equal tribute to the British conscience. "A terror that never relented, that never compromised, that was always free of doubts," a Congress party veteran of the revolution once told me, "might have crushed us. British terror was never relentless enough to succeed."

The British people have often achieved greatness, but they were never greater than in the dignity and decisiveness with which they relinquished their control in South Asia. In the wake of Indian freedom, the British left Burma and Ceylon with similar good grace and brought to birth Pakistan. In India, because of the demonstrated strength of the Congress, the 584 princes agreed to merge their states, large and small, in the new Indian Union, accepting in return only the promise of a pension—a promise which Nehru's Government over strong opposition has meticulously kept. There were armed clashes in Hyderabad and Kashmir, but the wonder was that there were not fifty Kashmirs.

Yet despite this extraordinary success, Gandhi was far away from the scene of celebration on Independence Day, August 15, 1947, spending his time instead in fasting, spinning and in prayer. For him the partition of India, and the terrible fratricidal riots which succeeded it, had meant failure. "Vivisect me, but not India," he had cried. But in an effort to avoid further Hindu-Muslim riots the Congress party leaders had reluctantly decided to accept the British proposal for the creation of Pakistan.

In the early Gandhian struggles the Muslims had played a large role. Hindu-Muslim unity had then gradually disappeared as a result of the creation by the British of separate electorates for the two religions, determined Muslim efforts to create a religious state of their own, and mistakes of the Congress itself when in office under the limited self-government of 1937.

After the first riots started in Calcutta in 1946, the combination of police action and pilgrimages by Gandhi into the scenes of trouble served to bring the fighting under control. Partition, however, brought a new wave of riots in the Punjab where a great province was divided along artificial lines, and where millions of Hindus,

Muslims or Sikhs on the wrong side of the line were left in fear or driven out.

Gandhi realized that his principles were far from being fully understood or accepted. As early as 1925 he had said, "I know that I am unable to carry with me the bulk of educated India." Thirty years later an old Gandhian, now chief minister of an Indian state, said to me, "To many of us *Satyagraha* was a religion, but to others it was no more than a successful technique."

In 1942, when the nonviolent methods appeared ineffective in the "Quit India" campaign, the militant young Socialists had turned to direct action, not against the British as individuals but against British property. They created a spectacular underground which for several months established and maintained armed home rule in many villages.

Subhas Bose, who had been re-elected president of the Congress in 1938 over Gandhi's explicit opposition, organized a Indian National Army for the purpose of liberating India, just as, he said, George Washington had liberated America. After a long march up from Singapore, this army actually entered India briefly, during the high tide of Japanese advances.

In prison Gandhi was profoundly disturbed over this growing cult of violence. When the leaders of Subhas' army were hailed as nation-wide heroes on their return to India after the war, Gandhi felt that his hold was slipping. When Congress chose partition instead of his own proposal for more wandering in the wilderness in search of a united India, Gandhi could see no reason to celebrate any victory. There were many ingredients in the Indian Revolution, and at times the non-Gandhian ones came rudely to the fore in some of the worst examples of bloodshed and forced movements of people which our unhappy century has seen.

Gandhi's last act of *Satyagraha* was in part against his own followers. Four months after independence he went on a fast unto death to quiet Muslim-Hindu bitterness and to require India to divide its treasury with Pakistan in spite of the outbreak of fighting in Kashmir.

"If I survive the struggle for freedom, I might have to give nonviolent battle to my own countrymen," he had said. After six days, the new government granted to Pakistan the $250 million of the United India treasury which had been assigned to it after partition, and the Hindu and Muslim leaders pledged their goodwill toward

each other's faiths. So successful did the fast seem, that Gandhi began to show renewed confidence and promised to live to be 125.

First he had set independence as his goal. Next he had concentrated with considerable success on putting an end to Hindu-Muslim strife. Now he said he would soon turn to social and economic matters, applying his techniques of action to the establishment of the kind of equality and decentralization which for him would give flesh and blood to *Swaraj*. "Where is the independence," he asked "with all this poverty? If I live my task will be to reform politics."

On January 30, 1948, ten days after he had broken the fast, he was shot three times and killed while walking unguarded to his regular prayer meeting. Despite threats from fanatic Hindus, and a bomb thrown at him a few days before, he had refused police protection.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the new Prime Minister, sat on the ground at the foot of Gandhi's flaming funeral pyre. Beside him sat Mountbatten, the ex-viceroy, and Lady Mountbatten. Around them pressed a gigantic crowd like a river of tears. When Gandhi's ashes were later emptied seaward into the Ganges, more than four million people were gathered there on the river bank. Some say more human beings assembled on that day than on any other occasion in history.

The king's representative in the United Nations, in mourning the death of "the friend of the poorest and the loneliest and the lost," predicted that Gandhi's "greatest achievements . . . are still to come."

General MacArthur, then the supreme Allied military commander in Japan said, "In the evolution of civilization, if it is to survive, all men cannot fail eventually to adopt Gandhi's belief that the process of mass application of force to resolve contentious issues is fundamentally not only wrong but contains within itself the germs of self-destruction."

Gandhi had believed in the people and had demonstrated their power. He had proved the possibility of peaceful change by non-violent direct action. He knew that not just a change of government was needed, but a fundamental change in the relationships of men to each other. The fact that the people could not live up to all of his demands was only to say that they were human.

It may be argued that Gandhi exercised power more successfully, with more lasting effects, than any of his revolutionary contemporaries. Did he not stake out the best and most complete revolution the twentieth century had seen? Was it too much to hope that in the age of the hydrogen bomb Gandhi's revolution might become the model for the remaining revolutions of the century?

CHAPTER 19

A Young India Emerges

To what extent the Gandhian ideal of a complete democratic revolution will be embraced by the people of South Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and some parts of South America, who are still challenging the *status quo,* depends to a considerable extent on how well the 370 million Indians carry on their Mahatma's work.

As we have seen, Gandhi demanded more than the driving out of a colonial power, or the switch from a group of foreign leaders to indigenous ones, or even economic development. Gandhi's revolution had insisted on national freedom and economic development, but with the crucial additional dimension of human dignity, grounded in a fundamental moral and spiritual regeneration of the Indian people.

With Gandhi's death, Gandhism in India seemed to go through a prism, coming out of the other side split into many beams of light, each carrying some quality of Gandhi, but none having the concentrated power which had overthrown an empire. India is still engulfed in an inner struggle of soul-searching for the right way.

The fight for national freedom had been won when the British troops withdrew, but mighty barriers remained to the development of a sense of national unity. Of the many problems besetting free India let us look more closely at the two most relevant to the hopes for a complete revolution—human dignity and economic development.

After partition the Nehru Government worked feverishly and with

much success to build a secular state, in which the 45 million Muslims in India might be safe and enjoy full rights of citizenship. More than six million Hindu refugees were peacefully absorbed. Today many high posts in the Indian Government and universities are held by Muslims.

In 1950 the new Indian Constitution was adopted which, drawing heavily on American and British experience, established a parliamentary form of government with a Bill of Rights comparable to our own.

The untouchables, Gandhi's "Children of God," have been granted full legal rights. Legislation passed in 1955 states that anyone who practices discrimination against them in any form may be punished by a fine and up to six months in prison.

Women, whose economic status in India has always been low, were emancipated, and now, legally at least, have the full rights enjoyed by women in all democratic countries. Although child marriages were formerly the rule and the average girl was married by her thirteenth birthday, marriage is now illegal for Hindu girls under fifteen or Hindu boys under eighteen.

Soon after I arrived in India in late 1951, the young republic conducted its first nation-wide election on the basis of a universal franchise. Over 100 million people went peacefully to the polls in democracy's largest election. A higher proportion of the electorate voted than in most American presidential campaigns.

Nehru's Congress party, bearing the legacy of the Gandhian struggle, won 45 per cent of the votes and roughly 73 per cent of the parliamentary seats. The opposition was divided among the Praja and Socialist parties (now combined as the Praja Socialists), with 16 per cent of the votes but a poor showing of seats; the Communists, with only 5 per cent of the votes but with a strong showing of seats in the Telugu-speaking area, part of which is now the State of Andhra; the extreme right wing and orthodox Hindu parties with another 5 per cent; and scattered independents and local parties dividing the rest of the vote. Nehru's Congress party was able to continue its strong hold on the central government and on almost all of the states.

A generation of violence, armed uprisings and underground stealth such as occurred in China would have made such an election impossible. The effect of British law combined with Gandhi's technique

of nonviolent action, had strengthened faith in persuasion, and established for the people the habits of self-government.

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IN the economic sphere, too, progress has been increasingly reassuring. A Five Year Plan of economic development was initiated in 1951. The target date was set for April, 1956.

At the time I left India as Ambassador, in March, 1953, there were many who felt that the plan's objectives were too ambitious. There were many envious comments on the Communist Chinese development program to the north, where there was no need to slow down for the democratic practices of persuasion and compromise, and no fear of antagonizing a free electorate.

When I revisited India two years later, the change was considerable. Almost everywhere I found a sense of assurance, born of the knowledge that most of the goals of the first Five Year Plan were being surpassed, that in a special election in Andhra the Indian Communist party, which had based its campaign on economic issues, had met a shattering defeat, and that even the skeptics were admitting that so far, at least, Indian democracy was a success.

Not that there weren't problems and questions in abundance. More than half of all Indian families were still living on less than $250 a year. Indian factory workers were receiving on the average less than a dollar a day, a primary schoolteacher in a state such as Madhya Pradesh only twenty dollars a month. There were millions partly or wholly unemployed. Although food was much more plentiful, the average Indian villager still had an inadequate and badly balanced diet.

When we consider the distance India has left to go, there is sober reason for concern. But when we consider the distance she has covered since independence, there is reason for measured confidence. This is particularly important because in the field of economic development India today is engaged in what history may consider the battle of our century. The two giant underdeveloped countries, China and India, with 40 per cent of the world's people between them, have embarked on a fateful competition in the pace and methods of industrial growth. The contrasts and consequences of

democratic as opposed to totalitarian economic development are being demonstrated in practice.

Most students of Asian affairs have recognized the immensity of this contest and the stakes involved. More than any other single event short of war, the outcome may determine the path which the rest of the underdeveloped world ultimately chooses to take.

Democratic India by definition faces certain problems that totalitarian China can to a large extent ignore. Thus of primary importance is the fact that the Indian Government must woo its peasant voters or forfeit its largest political constituency. Within certain elusive limits, the Peking Government, not dependent on votes, can depend on sterner measures.

We have seen that in Russia and China, the peasants are harshly exploited in an attempt to provide the maximum food for the city workers at the lowest possible cost to the state in consumer goods and amenities. The emphasis of the Communists is placed primarily on industrial development.

Even under totalitarianism this approach involves risks. In a democracy like India, it would lead straight to a political explosion. Seventy-five per cent of India's millions live in the villages, and without their support any democratic government would be doomed. In order to build the foundation for a free Asian society, the first Indian Five Year Plan placed heavy emphasis on rural development.

This contrast between the democratic and totalitarian approach is also implicit in the planning process of the two countries. In March, 1950, India set up a Planning Commission with Prime Minister Nehru as chairman. Consultation with various state and central government agencies, advisory boards and special experts continued for fifteen months, at the end of which a draft of a Five Year Plan was circulated throughout the country.

Modified by widespread discussion and debate, the plan was adopted some months later by the Indian Parliament as the blueprint for the country's economic effort. It proposed what is undoubtedly the greatest democratic rural revolution of our time.

By contrast, although we know little of the actual mechanics of the planning program in China, we can draw some inferences from the fact that the Five Year Plan announced from Peking in December, 1952, was as nearly a carbon copy of Russia's first plan as circumstances would permit. As the Soviet planners neglected the

grain-producing but uneasy Ukraine, so the Chinese put little emphasis on Southern China, presumably the best rice-producing and least loyal section.

In the Chinese plan stress was placed on the development of the secure inner provinces like Sinkiang and Manchuria, much like the Russian trans-Ural build-up. Instead of the detailed, precise targets of the Indian program by which progress could be judged and criticized, broad objectives are set down for the five-year period which are then modified to fit the changing requirements of the central government as dictated by political or economic expediency.

The contrast is equally visible in the methods by which these plans are carried forward. Basic to all economic development, in totalitarian and democratic countries alike, is the process of capital formation. Any economically healthy nation must consume less than it produces, so that the surplus will be available to create new plants and other productive facilities. Here the Chinese, with the tightly controlled apparatus of a totalitarian government, seem to have an advantage over the Indian leaders responsible to a democratic public opinion.

India relies almost entirely on taxation to limit the amount of productive activity that goes into consumer goods. The Indian farmer operates under free market conditions. Tax income, plus capital secured by deficit financing, foreign loans and grants, provide the revenues for the essential building of railroads, docks, factories, hydroelectric plants, irrigation dams, and for malaria control and other essential services.

Of course, taxation is an important source of revenue in China as well. But it is supplemented by substantial profits on government-owned enterprises which now cover some 80 per cent of the heavy industry, 60 per cent of the light industry, 90 per cent of the banking, 50 per cent of retail trade and 80 per cent of wholesale trade. As in all Communist states, "borrowing" and "voluntary contributions," which usually mean requisitions of savings or forced labor, are also substantial.

Reliable figures are hard to obtain, but it appears that China's internal surplus for investment purposes raised by these methods has approached 16 per cent of her national income annually, while in India the best level that has yet been attained by democratic means is about 7 per cent.

As we have seen in a previous chapter, the Chinese economic program is designed to turn China into a modern industrial power regardless of the sacrifices required from the people. Both agriculture and consumer goods industries are forced into a secondary role, with heavy industry taking priority.

The first Indian Five Year Plan by contrast is geared to a moderate increase in living standards, and is committed to the priority rather than the postponement of careful agricultural development. Both economies desperately need a steady increase in food and other agricultural production. In order to get it India is encouraging her peasants in every possible way, while China is placing her peasantry under stringent regulations.

The Indian plan calls for an additional investment of about $2.2 billion in agriculture and irrigation by April, 1956. Comparable figures for China, with 200 million more people, are only $1.6 billion. In industry and power the emphasis is reversed, with India adding $2.3 billion, while China claims to be on her way to a record $6.2 billion.

Can the democratic Indian plan with its essential focus on human welfare still build the industrial base necessary for generating long-term economic growth? Can the Chinese maintain their rapid pace of industrial expansion without at some point bursting the effective limits of police controls and popular endurance among the 450 million people who live in the villages? Underdeveloped countries throughout Asia, Africa and South America, which are urgently seeking answers to similar problems, are watching this Chinese-Indian competition intently.

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ONE thing seems clear: India's progress by 1955 was greater than one could have expected at the beginning of the Five Year Plan. Although land reform, so utterly essential to a healthy rural society, is still by no means complete, it has gone forward. Many of the large land holdings have been abolished, and today a much higher proportion of Indian peasants are small owners working their own lands. The total compensation to the landlords will eventually reach $1 billion.

The gains in agricultural production have been heartening, amounting in 1955 to a 20 per cent increase since 1953. Blessed by good rains, India was at long last self-sufficient in food in 1954. As a result foreign exchange amounting to between $250 million and $500 million a year, which was formerly earmarked for overseas purchases of wheat and rice, was made available to buy foreign-built factory equipment, railroad rolling stock, trucks and other essentials. Increased irrigation that will become available in 1956 may assure maintenance of adequate food production levels regardless of the monsoons.

Because water is the lifeblood of India, the Five Year Plan gave irrigation a high priority. The increase in irrigated land by the target date for the first Five Year Plan—April 1, 1956—was expected to reach the extraordinary total of 16.7 million acres. This is more than the total amount of all land now under cultivation in Japan, and is only slightly less than all the irrigated land in the United States.

The progress of the Indian village development program, involving not only food production but also public health and education—a program in which I had invested much time and hope at its founding—has been perhaps the most encouraging.

In February, 1955, I visited the Mulug Community Development Project, which includes some 75 villages and 68,000 people and is located in the Telengana section of eastern Hyderabad. Here in 1948 the Communists staged their bloody revolt, timed to coincide with Communist uprisings in Burma, the Philippines and Indonesia. It was an area where a few landlords owned vast holdings while the majority of the people had tiny plots or were landless. Several thousand persons were killed and many villages burned while the Communists drove out the landlords and divided the land. Two divisions of the Indian Army and thirty thousand state police finally restored order. As late as 1952 I had been warned to stay out of this area because it was still unsafe without an armed escort.

Reminders of the revolt are still evident everywhere. The jungle, for instance, had been cut back five hundred yards on both sides of the road to prevent ambushes. Where visual reminders were inadequate, a running commentary was supplied by the project director:

"This village was completely destroyed by the Communists."

"Here the landlord and all of his family were murdered."

"In this place, just two years ago, our workers were told to get out within twenty-four hours or they would be assassinated."

"Throughout this district there was a Red hammer and sickle flag in front of every house."

In an area of 130 square miles, 72 villages and 68,000 people, instead of Red flags and surly scowls, we found friendliness, enthusiasm and solid achievements. Eighty per cent of the land was now owned by those who till it. Malaria had dropped from an incidence of 60 per cent to 2 per cent. More than half the children between the ages of six and eleven were already in schools. The village streets were neatly graded, with drains at the sides. Three new villages had been built from the ground up. All the work had been performed by the residents for their own betterment and without pay.

Altogether, the Indian village development program in the spring of 1955 covered more than 100,000 similar villages with about 80 million people—by far the greatest effort of its kind in the world. Modeled after our own rural extension service, it offers each community advice on modern agricultural methods; on better seeds and the use of fertilizers; on rudimentary public health malaria control and cleaner water; and on building schools through voluntary labor.

A trained worker is assigned to every five or six villages to organize these projects. Specialists in agriculture, public health and education are available to help him in special situations.

Aware that man does not live by bread alone, these projects now include a social education director who organizes dances, village art and other cultural activities. Plans call for every village in India to be covered by this many-sided extension program by 1961.

The burden of training and administration is tremendous. Forty-six well-equipped schools have been established with the help of Ford Foundation funds. From them come five thousand trained village development workers each year—plus several thousand administrators and specialists in public health, agriculture, irrigation, engineering education, social work, midwifery and cultural activities.

Major progress has also been made in the field of public health.

The village development program includes DDT spraying twice a year in all areas affected by malaria. But, because of the devastating effect of malaria on human life and productivity, it was decided to attempt to eradicate the disease as far as possible from all of India by 1957, four years in advance of the target date for the rest of the village program.

The need was clearly urgent. Up to 1953 there was an average of a hundred million cases of malaria each year. Several million acres of good land were so infested with malaria mosquitoes that they could not be tilled. Because malaria usually strikes at the harvest season, the annual production loss was estimated at roughly 6 per cent of the total Indian crop.

In 1953 the areas affected by malaria were divided into 190 districts with one million people in each. A nation-wide organization of 18,750 people was trained, and DDT spraying was started, house by house, and village by village.

In 1954, one hundred districts with a total population of a hundred million people were completely sprayed two or three times with DDT provided by American Point Four. In 1955, the coverage was increased to 136 million. By 1957, all 190 districts will be included. By 1955 the average of 100 million cases of malaria each year had already been reduced to 25 million.

Although a principal focus of the first Five Year Plan has been on food production and village development work, the industrial section has also shown substantial gains. Between 1952 and 1955, industrial output rose 37 per cent.

Indian railroads are being rapidly modernized. By 1955 the annual production of railroad cars in India had been stepped up from six thousand to twelve thousand. Two thousand locomotives were also being added, about one-third of them produced in Indian factories. Plans also call for an increase of 51 per cent in hydroelectric production by April, 1956.

Ninety-three per cent of this development program is paid for by internal Indian financing, primarily by extremely heavy taxation. The remainder comes from World Bank loans, and grants from the Colombo Plan and the Point Four program. To the surprise of the economists and fiscal experts, up to 1955 there had been no infla-

tion beyond the postwar period. Indeed in 1955 the consumer price levels, chiefly because of the large grain crops, were slightly lower than in 1952.

It seemed likely that, with few exceptions, the goals of the Five Year Plan would be met or surpassed by April, 1956. The second Five Year Plan, with the competitive Chinese effort clearly in mind, will call for increased emphasis on industry as well as a steady expansion in rural development and improvement. Indeed it is expected that India's already significant industrial output may be doubled by 1961. It is hoped that by then steel production will have reached five million tons, approximately that of Japan before Pearl Harbor.

This is an ambitious program. Even given the impressive new atmosphere which I found there in 1955, can India meet her goals? In 1955 India was forced to consume 93 per cent of her meager production to provide a bare existence for her people. This left only 7 per cent for expansion and development.

By 1961, as a result of steady expansion and continued heavy taxes, consumption is expected to amount to no more than 88 per cent of production, which would leave a remarkable 12 per cent for investment in increased facilities. Can this drastic belt-tightening be sustained by a democracy without a political explosion?

This is only one of many equally pertinent questions which I believe will occur to any objective observer. Another is this: can the present able Civil Service be expanded to administer within six years a village extension effort, covering every village in India with nearly double the entire population of the United States? More than 400,000 trained men and women will be required.

Furthermore the period of greatest political stress on any society, as I have suggested earlier, may not come when people are hopelessly sunk in poverty, but at the moment when they sense the possibility of an expanding and better life and feel that their progress should be faster. What are the political implications if their growing expectations, however unreasonable, remain too long unfulfilled? There will be no dearth of demagogues to underscore the failures.

Each year Indian universities graduate fifty thousand young men and women, most of whom have liberal arts degrees and a gentlemanly reluctance to tackle the grueling work of raising a nation by

its bootstraps. Can the means be found to involve these young college graduates emotionally and physically in the work that needs to be done in the villages, factories and slums? Or will they remain on the sidelines as an intellectual elite, frustrated, resentful and tempted toward the politics of violence? Revolutions are often led, not by hungry peasants, but by frustrated middle-class intellectuals who may never have had a hungry day in their lives.

India's land reform program has made gains. Will the present progress continue over the opposition of the politically powerful landlords? If not, the rewards of increased production will go, not to the many, but to the few, and Communist agitators will have a new opportunity.

India's industrialists, with some notable exceptions, have concentrated on quick, speculative profits, rather than long-term expansion with small unit profits. Some of them have not hesitated to falsify their tax returns. Such attitudes have helped to put private capitalism in India in bad repute. Can India's system of private ownership be revitalized to play an improved part in the development program?

Rapidly increased employment opportunities are vital, and here the lag is dangerously great. Industrial progress is essential, but this is not the final answer. (Sixty per cent of the world's motor cars are made in American factories by only 1.3 million workers.) The employment of India's unemployed or partly employed millions depends primarily on village housing construction, road building, crafts and village industries. Present plans seem inadequate.

Perhaps most important of all, can a sense of national pride and of individual participation in the process of development be maintained and expanded? There must be a mutually recognized partnership between government and people that welds the nation together and gives a sense of spiritual drive and excitement to the job at hand—a particularly relevant challenge in the land of Gandhi.

What, indeed, about the spirit of Gandhi? Was his success only an exciting but passing phase in India's long history? Was Gandhi's program merely a technique to secure freedom? Or did Gandhi leave something dynamic, lasting and deep-rooted, a driving force for India's future development?

As an American with high hopes that India might not only solve

her own critical difficulties but through her example offer a new way to a materialistic and often cynical world, I confess that I have often had my periods of disappointment.

One example involves Kashmir. As Ambassador to India it had been my responsibility to study carefully the legal and political aspects of the Kashmir question. It was my belief that on this issue the Indians have always had a justifiable legal claim.

Yet in November, 1947, the Indian Government promised that a plebiscite would be held as soon as "all foreign troops were removed from Kashmir soil." In 1955 this plebiscite had not yet been held, and there appeared little likelihood that it would be held.

In the summer of 1953 I had been disturbed to see the appearance of what appeared to be a carefully organized, anti-American propaganda campaign, following the arrest of Sheik Abdullah, the Kashmir Prime Minister. Casual American tourists were charged with being spies. Even Adlai Stevenson, who went to Kashmir for a few days' rest, did not escape abuse. Responsible Indian newspapers alluded to him darkly as an agent of the Pentagon, plotting the building of secret air bases in the Kashmir mountains.

Not unreasonably India has often called on American policy makers to be flexible in dealing with Moscow and Peking. Does not India also carry a responsibility to make a more determined effort to reach an understanding with her neighbor, Pakistan?

Although Indian leaders may be correct in saying that they have met Pakistan halfway, is that enough? India has been blessed with a great national leader, a unifying political party, and the benefit of a far stronger government than that of Pakistan. Under such circumstances would Gandhi have been content to "go halfway"? His last fast on behalf of Muslims and better treatment of Pakistan suggests its own answer.

Moreover was Gandhi's India not obliged to give the world an example of full respect for civil liberties? In 1955 Sheik Abdullah, an old friend of most Congress party leaders, was still confined without trial, although India for years had criticized Pakistan for a similar confinement of the "Frontier Gandhi," Gaffar Khan.

Before my return visit to India in 1955, I also had heard more talk of corruption than in 1951–53—this time allegedly reaching officers of cabinet rank in some of the Indian states. The activities of the

landlord lobbies in several state legislatures in India were described as scandalous.

In her long struggle for independence and in the principles laid down by her leaders, India had set a high standard for herself. Should her friends be blamed if they judged her by those standards?

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THESE questions were on my mind when, in February, 1955, I visited a village training center at Gandhigram in Madras State in South India. Here some three hundred young men and women were working to prepare themselves for the kind of village work which Gandhi understood and encouraged. We attended the sunset service and heard the hymns, sung with feeling and beauty. Some were modern, and others were drawn from the old Vedic literature. There were readings from the Bible, the Koran and the Gita, each stressing the oneness of all people and the all-embracing importance of the individual irrespective of his race, his creed or his color.

That night we talked with a group of men who had been close to Gandhi, and who had shared his failures and successes. I told them how deeply impressed I was with the spiritual dedication that we had sensed there at the school, and I asked them how they interpreted its relevance for the future.

"India will see her most glorious days in the years ahead," one of them commented. "If it had not been for Nehru we could not have survived as a nation. His devotion and political skill pulled us together and gave us leadership. His courage drove back the religious extremists whose passions might have devoured us.

"But for India," he continued, "Nehru, for all his greatness, is a halfway house. When Nehru retires or dies, India will become not less Gandhian, but more Gandhian."

I remembered that the two men most frequently mentioned as Nehru's probable successors were both among Gandhi's most dedicated followers—Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay State, and Jayaprakash Narayan, former head of the Socialist party and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. I had known them

for several years and my visits with them had been memorable experiences.

I also remembered my recent conversation with the new president of the Congress party, U. N. Dhebar, an earnest, able Gandhian follower who had told me of his determination to root out party corruption and renew in the Congress the Gandhian devotion to the public welfare.

There was also my wife's vivid account of her day in Orissa with Vinoba Bhave, "India's walking saint," to whom landlords have voluntarily contributed four million acres of land for distribution to the landless. She described his early start at 3:30 A.M., the morning prayers, and the rapt adoration of all of the thousands of people who saw him and talked with him during the day.

In Hyderabad, after Gandhi's death, the Communists had seized and distributed thousands of acres of land. Vinoba, an ascetic who had once been chosen by Gandhi as the number one example of nonviolence, visited Hyderabad in 1951, and resolved to try to solve the problem of the landless through Gandhian means.

In a Hyderabad village he called on the landholders, large and small, to recognize the landless as their brothers and to share the land with them. One landlord responded and *Bhoodan*—the land gift pilgrimage—was born.

Vinoba decided to ask that everyone begin by giving one-sixth of his land, as if to a sixth son. With this message he began in 1951 to walk the length of India, collecting acres for the landless. The several thousand Gandhian workers throughout India, who had been working in isolated centers, rallied to the idea.

In 1955 we sensed that the *Bhoodan* movement was giving expression to a moral revival throughout India. In a country as vast and full of contrasts as India, one must avoid hasty generalizations based on isolated personal experiences, no matter how vivid. Having said that, I must still state that from our own knowledge and life in India, we were greatly heartened. The glowing promise of a deeper and richer spiritual life, which had dimmed somewhat in the years after the first major accomplishment of independence, seemed to be reawakening. Indians were thinking more and more of moral values.

Every night at the end of a ten- to fifteen-mile walk through the villages and countryside, Vinoba Bhave wielded a spade as a symbol of his community of spirit with those who till the land. He showed

the landlords, as Gandhi showed the British, that it is they, not their victims, who suffer most from their own acts of injustice and oppression.

Vinoba's moral influence can be judged partly by his converts. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, has dedicated his life to *Bhoodan* and the nonviolent development of a modern democratic India. As Vinoba's deputy, he is bringing many young Indians into the work—particularly the work of distributing the millions of acres collected and of reorganizing the several hundred villages where all the land has been given.

Neither he nor Vinoba sees *Bhoodan* as a substitute for land reform legislation. On the contrary, they both argue that this movement among villagers will create the necessary atmosphere to ensure the proper legislation by releasing the storehouse of Gandhian power —the power of a convinced people.

Those who accept the thesis that eventually Communism can only be defeated by a more powerful idea, will recognize in this frail, elderly man one of the greatest democratic forces in all of Asia. "We do not agree," Vinoba says, "with the Communists in their view that there can be no revolution without violence. We believe that in a country like India and in a democratic setup of government, it is quite possible to bring about a revolution through the ballot box, without resorting to violence.

"Having proved its worth by securing *Swaraj* [freedom] for us," Vinoba continues, "Gandhism may no longer be dubbed visionary and impracticable. And Communism, too, has for the moment proved its virility by rejuvenating the hoary old China. This tempts some workers to seek a reconciliation of the two systems. The fact of the matter is that these two ideologies are irreconcilable; the difference between them is fundamental. . . . It is as clear as day that they are deadly opposed to each other."

On our last night in India in 1955 we were invited to a private showing in the President's House of a film on Gandhi's life and efforts in 1929 and 1930. It showed dramatically the great, powerful crowds, the disciplined nonviolence in the face of police charges, the English textile workers of Lancaster, unemployed because of Gandhi's boycott of British manufactured cloth, cheering warmly as Gandhi walked among them during his visit to the United Kingdom.

With the exception of ourselves, the audience of forty or so con-

sisted of members of the working committee of the Congress party, Gandhi's instrument of liberation. Many of them had appeared in the picture as young, dedicated leaders working under the guidance and inspiration of their Mahatma. Later that night at dinner Nehru talked intently about the heritage that Gandhi had left and the responsibilities that had been passed on to him and his associates.

I remember now the earnest look of the village workers in their schools at Gandhigram and Hyderabad and at their work in the villages. And I wonder if the spirit generated there may not only assure the development and freedom of India's people, but serve also as a guide for many hundreds of millions of others across the seas.

Could Vinoba's words be prophetic? "What can be a more fascinating study to us," he asked, "than that of a comparison between the ideologies of Gandhi and Marx? Lenin is ingested in Marx. And the shadow of Tolstoy spreads over Gandhi. The two ideologies stand face to face, each bent on swallowing up the other.

"On the surface it might seem that the two contestants occupying the arena are the Communists led by Russia and the capitalists . . . by the United States. But ideologically the latter has lost all vitality and though it might appear doughty on the strength of its military force, I do not regard it as really existent as a rival against Communism. I believe that ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength."

Americans will not accept Vinoba's harsh charge that we have lost our democratic conviction, but it should press us to re-examine how well we are practicing the principles of our revolution, to see why a man like Vinoba would find us wanting. Meanwhile, if Gandhism has created a new revolutionary alternative to Communism, it is a vital sign, for it is an alternative based on the idea of human dignity.

CHAPTER 20

India and the Cold War

MOST Americans react with sympathy and admiration to the story of Gandhi's epic leadership of the Indian struggle for freedom and to the recent social and economic progress of the new Indian nation. But they are likely to have strong misgivings about India's role in international affairs. They want to know whether India is isolationist, neutralist, anti-American or just plain pro-Communist. They are especially concerned about India's attitude toward her two massive Communist neighbors—China and Russia.

Often this concern is directed to the attitudes of Prime Minister Nehru. This is a relevant point, since Nehru's views have largely dominated the foreign policy thinking of most Indians since 1925 when the Congress party, meeting in Kanpur, set up its Foreign Department to study international questions and to make its recommendations to the parent body.

Perhaps an even more significant date is 1927. Speaking at a press conference in Madras on January 15, 1955, Nehru himself said that the 1927 session of the Congress in Madras was a parent of the foreign policy that India had been pursuing since independence. "India's foreign policy of nonalignment and friendly relations with all nations, as well as our general outlook about freedom of all countries and anticolonialism, started from that period," Nehru said. "It is well to remember this, because it means that our foreign policy is not a sudden growth, but a natural outcome of our thinking for many years past."

Although the resolutions of a party out of power are not always

identical with the foreign policy that party might have conducted had it had governmental responsibility, it is fair to say, as Nehru said, that the present Indian Government has had a foreign policy for at least a generation.

Consistently through the years the themes of anticolonialism and antiracialism recurred in Congress party resolutions. In 1928 the Congress offered its somewhat premature congratulations to the China of Chiang Kai-shek "on having attained full and complete nationhood and having ended the era of foreign domination."

In 1936, Krishna Menon, who in 1955 was India's special roving ambassador, was author of a report to the Congress which stated that "imperialism is a continuing cause of war, and its elimination is essential in the interest of peace."

The Congress was outspoken in its opposition to Fascist aggression, expressing in 1936 its "deepest sympathy and anxiety" for the people of Spain who were fighting "a miliary group aided by foreign mercenary troops and Fascist powers in Europe." A year later, following the landing of Japanese troops in Shanghai, the Congress called upon the Indian people to boycott "the use of Japanese goods as a mark of sympathy for the people of China." In 1938 the preparations for "an imperialist war" in Europe were deplored, and after fighting began, a similar stand was taken against Nazi aggression.

But even while Indian troops fought at Britain's side, the stress on ending colonialism was never forgotten. In March, 1946, seventeen months before the British left India, the Congress demanded the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indochina, Iran and Egypt, while asserting that "India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world."

At a New Delhi press conference in September of that year Mr. Nehru laid down the policy India would follow as an independent nation in terms to which he has adhered ever since with remarkable consistency. "In the sphere of foreign affairs," he said, "India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. She will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with the other peace-

loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another."

Nehru went on to pledge India's "wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence to the United Nations," and to offer India's vigorous participation "to which her geographical position, population and contribution toward peaceful progress entitle her." The Indian delegate, he said, would at all times "make it clear that India stands for the independence of all colonial and dependent people and their full right to self-determination."

This is still as clear a general statement of India's foreign policy as can be found anywhere. With but one addition, India's voluntary adherence to the British Commonwealth, it might have been issued any time in the last decade. In the context both of this Indian foreign policy background and of events and attitudes in the Soviet Union and Communist China, India's policies toward her Communist neighbors over the years come into clearer focus.

In the final stages of the independence struggle during World War II, the Indian Communists won the enmity of most other Indians by throwing their weight behind the British on orders from Moscow to give all-out support to the viceroy. While Gandhi and Nehru were leading Indians in great nonviolent strikes, the Communists served the British as strikebreakers. Thus in India the Communists actually opposed the nationalist movement at a crucial juncture, and were consequently discredited.

Anti-Communist sentiment throughout much of India was reinforced when, shortly after independence, Indian Communists staged their violent uprising which centered in the Telengana area of Hyderabad. We have already seen that this revolt, which was part of a world-wide tactic of international Communism, was suppressed only by the use of the sternest military measures, and at great cost. When I arrived in India in 1951, an official said to me wryly that his government "had more Communists in prison than any country except Russia."

Since those days the Indian Communist party, although still taking its direction from Moscow, has sharply modified its tactics. On occasion it even professes respect for nonviolence. This claim, however, suffered somewhat from Communist activities in the Andhra elections in February, 1955. The property of Congress party leaders

was burned, and threats of personal violence filled the air, as the Communists went all out in a distinctly non-Gandhian effort to win the State Assembly.

For such excesses most Indians are inclined to blame Soviet leadership which it is assumed still directs the Indian Communist party. That direction was clear enough even up to the final months of the Communist victory on the Chinese mainland. The Indian Communist Party shared the indifference of Moscow and the satellites to Mao's early successes. Thus as late as July, 1949, after Mao's forces had overrun most of China, Indian Communist party papers were still referring to him scornfully as an "agrarian reformer." "The Communist party of India," ran an official announcement issued in that month, "accepts Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin as the authoritative sources of Marxism. It has not discovered new sources of Marxism beyond these."

It was not until January, 1950, just before the United Kingdom, India, Burma, and Pakistan recognized Mao's government, that the Indian Communist party on Moscow's orders accepted Maoism as a valid form of Communism. The fact that in June, 1955, two days after Nehru concluded a state visit to Moscow, the Indian Communist party abruptly announced the reversal of its anti-Congress position, lends recent credence to the theory that Moscow still directs Indian Communist party activities—although in my opinion the drastic defeat suffered in Andhra left the Indian Communists no other immediate alternative.

To balance these generally adverse factors, the Soviet Union has had at least three advantages over the years: One of these is the traditional Marxist-Lenin position on colonialism which made an early impression on the minds of Indian leaders. In almost every international conference on imperialism between the great wars, when the struggle for freedom was uppermost in the minds of Indian leaders, Soviet delegates appeared as outspoken opponents of colonialism. And this consistent vocal endorsement of the cause of anticolonialism, as we have seen, came at a time when the traditional pressures, which the Czars had exerted against Russia's neighbors, were being relaxed temporarily by the Kremlin.

Another Kremlin advantage, on which I touched briefly in a previous chapter, is the extraordinary ignorance of most educated Indians of the factors which led up to the Cold War impasse. Dur-

ing the decade 1945–55 while the West was experiencing the harshness of Stalinist policies, India was preoccupied with the final withdrawal of the British, the religious riots and the monumental tasks of launching the new state. The lessons America learned as the Soviet Union pursued its Cold War tactics in Poland, Iran, Greece, Turkey, Germany and Korea were only casually read in India or not read at all.

In 1955 I made a speech before the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi in which I listed fourteen major issues on which American foreign policy had, I felt, been demonstrably right in this postwar period. Most of the ground that I covered was almost totally new to my audience.

The third factor, partially resulting from this same widespread ignorance of Soviet action, is the stubborn conviction that Moscow, whatever its faults, earnestly seeks peace. Many non-Communist Indians, for instance, believe that the present atomic competition is an American creation, which we will not relinquish. Even among the leaders there are few who remember the Acheson-Lilienthal-Baruch plan for atomic control. The professed efforts of the Soviet Union to further disarmament and a lessening of tensions has made a profound impression, and Moscow's past refusals to demonstrate a genuine willingness to compromise are quickly forgotten or ignored.

It will be surprising indeed if we do not see a greatly stepped-up Soviet effort to woo India during the next decade. Moscow understands the new dimensions of power and hence recognizes India's vast importance in the present world context. India's potential role as a counterbalance to a more difficult-to-handle China must also be obvious to the Kremlin. How New Delhi will react to these blandishments to come is an open question.

There can be no doubt, however, that it took the emergence of Communist China to make Communism itself appear more respectable among Indians. As a newcomer to the world stage, China largely escaped responsibility among Indians for the unpopular record of the Indian Communist party during recent years.

Although I was aware of these Indian attitudes in 1951–53, by 1955 they had taken firmer root. Not only among government leaders, but among most educated Indians as well, I sensed a surprising degree of tolerance if not a kind of enthusiasm for the "New China."

Most Indians recognize the violence with which Mao and his associates have eliminated their opposition, and their un-Gandhian contempt for moral principles. But in China they also see a fellow Asian people, who were long exploited and humiliated by Westerners, who belligerently opposed colonialism under Sun Yat-sen and Chiang, and finally ousted it under Mao, and who are now struggling to develop a modern economy. When these elements of mutual interest are placed in a close geographical context, India's policy toward China is more easily understood.

"I imagine myself," said Nehru in 1940 while visiting Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking, "as one of a long line, yet another link joining together these two ancients in history and civilization." When he visited Peking in 1954, Nehru spoke in much the same vein.

In spite of the profound differences in ideology, Nehru and his associates and most educated Indians instinctively look to the Chinese with far more hope than most Americans feel is justified by the facts. Indeed, what may almost be regarded as Indian courtship of China in the hope that she can win her to a more moderate approach is at the very heart of India's foreign policy and by all odds Nehru's greatest gamble.

* * *

AGAINST this complex and often emotional background, we must also consider Indian attitudes toward America and American policy. Like his impression of China, the Indian's impression of America is blurred. From the earliest days of his own struggle, he set America apart from his general indictment of the Western colonial powers.

He knew America as the first major nation to throw off the grip of an imperial European power. For a hundred years America, with a few notable exceptions, had supported the efforts of subject people to govern themselves. In April, 1940, Nehru wrote of America that "more and more" India's thoughts were attuned to "this great democratic country which seems almost alone to keep the torch of democratic freedom alight in a world given over to imperialism and fascism, violence and aggression and opportunism of the worst kind."

During the war America's support for the cause of Indian independence had been taken for granted by most Indians. Two top American government representatives were said to have been withdrawn from India on British insistence because of their open support of Congress party demands for freedom.

Yet today America appears to the educated Indian as an enigma. After liberating East Asia from Japanese rule, living up to her promise to free the Philippines, and finally supporting Indonesian freedom, America has seemed to him to drift further and further from the principles which inspired India's democratic spokesmen.

Indians never cease to point out that most of the Asian nations with whom we are allied do not have freely elected governments, while many of our NATO associates have colonial possessions in Africa and even in Asia to which, for the most part, they firmly cling.

Brought up in the British tradition which discourages all public statements by military men, Indians have been startled at the barrage of often belligerent speeches, press conferences and news handouts of the Pentagon.

Nor do the political and military vacuums of the Middle East and Southeast Asia, left by the departure of the British, or the resulting neutralization of the British-led Indian Army, apparently worry most Indians. When America seeks to fill these vacuums, they look upon us not as friends holding off Communism so that they can remain free to develop their own nation without interference, but as intruders following a new colonial tactic.

When we express our resentment at this charge, they are reminded of the arrogance of the colonial British. When we scold them and their leaders for not taking our side and accepting our leadership, they are resentful and ask if our failure to support the British in the 1930's indicated that we were pro-Nazi.

These ambivalent sets of attitudes toward the United States and Communist China, when taken together, present a complicated pattern from which it is difficult to draw easy generalizations.

The leaders of modern India have long since established beyond reasonable doubt their personal and political devotion to democratic freedom. This is confirmed in events we have already discussed—in the story of the Indian Revolution, in the liberal-democratic Constitution of the new state, in the vigor of her political and parliamentary life, and in the manner of her economic development.

Where India's national interests have been unmistakably involved, she has been forthright in asserting her determination to protect them. Thus she has guaranteed the integrity of the Himalayan border states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan—and no one doubts that the purpose of this guarantee is to discourage Chinese intrusion.

It seems equally clear that India's forces would support those of Burma, and I believe Pakistan, in the event of military attacks from the north. The conquest of Tibet by China, although ultimately accepted, was a profoundly unsettling event in New Delhi.

If Chinese policies become clearly expansionist, India and her neighbors will be forced to take their stand. I believe that the most probable point at which India would draw the line would be where the high tides of Chinese and Indian culture and political influence met in Southeast Asia betwen 600 A.D. and 1200 A.D.—close to the northern border of what is now Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Burma.

On military problems in Asia farther from her own borders, India's position is likely to remain neutral except in the face of a clear and blatant aggression. This, however, need not reflect "pro-Communism." Indeed from hindsight India's judgment on some of the most crucial of these problems turns out to have been more nearly right than most Americans think.

One example is the question of a truce in Korea. In June, 1950, India voted in favor of the United Nations condemnation of the initial Communist attack on South Korea as an aggressive act. Three months later, following MacArthur's victory at Inchon, the Chinese Government warned the Indian Ambassador in Peking that if the UN forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, China would enter the war.

New Delhi urged a cease-fire at that line. Disregarding the warning, we plunged north. The Chinese Red Army promptly crossed the Yalu. Three years later we finally decided to accept a truce at roughly the same Thirty-eighth Parallel. In the meantime 96,000 additional Americans and no one knows how many more Chinese and Koreans had been killed or wounded.

Indian leaders point out that they supported the principle of defending non-Communist South Korean territory from Communist aggression and broke with us only when we embarked on what they

considered to be a violation of that principle by seeking to unify Korea by force.

India also warned repeatedly of the futility of supporting the French colonial regime in Indochina. In January, 1954, when Nehru urged a truce, responsible Americans accused him of "Communist sympathies" and charged that he was striving to save Ho Chi Minh from imminent defeat. Three months later Dienbienphu fell and the entire French Army was faced with a military catastrophe in the Red River Delta.

In April, 1955, India strongly urged American moderation over the issue of Quemoy and Matsu—a policy which ultimately prevailed by the wise personal decision of President Eisenhower. India also helped to mediate with China to secure the release of the captive American flyers. Although she has supported China's legal claim to Formosa, she has taken a consistent position in favor of a peaceful settlement of this issue in the face of Chou's warlike statements.

Over many years and against a complex and often emotional background these aspects of India's foreign policy have taken shape. Rightly or wrongly, but earnestly, Indian leaders believe that these policies accurately reflect their nation's needs and objectives. One of the most important of these needs of course grows out of her economic dilemma. India desperately needs a period of peace in which to develop her resources, and prove the effectiveness of her democratic techniques.

"If the Communists should take over India from where do you think they would come?" Indian leaders often demand. "If you think they would come from Russia through the Khyber Pass or from China through the mountains of Assam you are mistaken.

"If the Communists defeat the forces of democracy in India, that defeat will occur in the slums of Calcutta and the backward villages of Hyderabad," they continue. "Indian democracy will stand or fall, not on the size of its army, but on what we do or fail to do in India."

Whatever conclusions we may draw from these and other Indian attitudes, I think it would be a mistake to judge Indian foreign policy by our own national objectives and our own analysis of the Cold War. It would also be a mistake for Americans to associate the "neutralist" position exclusively with India, merely because

Nehru is one of its chief advocates. In the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and South America, this position in greater or lesser degree is widespread, and it is not by any means confined to them. In Japan, Italy, France and Germany substantial minorities openly advocate the "neutralist" view as an explicit political program.

If this general pulling away of the Middle World from the two poles of nuclear power continues, India's role will become increasingly important. Consequently, India should be judged in terms of her own claims—not as a candidate for membership in either of the Russian or American blocs, but rather as the second largest nation in the world, the largest democracy, and a prominent leader of the newly independent and soon-to-be-independent nations of Asia and Africa.

Most thoughtful Indians understand China's potential strength, and they are uneasy about it. But because they have had no direct experience with the Communist brand of imperialism, they worry far less about it than we think they should. They are convinced, moreover, that the bonds which hold Russia and China together are by no means indestructible.

"Your policies," they say, "seem almost designed to push Moscow and Peking together. That is defeatist and shows an ignorance of historical forces which sooner or later will show themselves. By keeping our lines of communications open to Russia and China we also help ease the tensions which may otherwise result in war. Who knows? Communism may fail in rural China. Then perhaps Mao Tse-tung will be forced to borrow some very different ideas from us."

Here we return to the fact above all others which reasserts its commanding importance: the likelihood that India and China will emerge through the fog of public statements and goodwill visits as real competitors for leadership in Asia, a competition which more and more is being recognized in India itself. That the competition may be accompanied by professions of friendship and that it may be expressed in economic and social, rather than in military, terms may be all to the good.

In any event, such statements of goodwill cannot erase the underlying logic which makes India and China inevitable rivals for the leadership of the underdeveloped continents of Asia and Africa. When we survey India's position and attitudes on major questions

involving the underdeveloped and colonial nations in the postwar world, it becomes clear that she has accepted the challenge.

In the United Nations, she has stood out as a militant and uncompromising foe of colonialism and a champion of the rights of still subject peoples to independence. This position has brought her into conflict on occasion with American views that the principle of self-determination must give way to the pressures of contemporary *Realpolitik.* On the whole, however, I think it has been to our advantage to have another democratic nation stating the case for freedom, on those occasions when, rightly or wrongly, we have felt we could not, rather than to leave this field to the Communists.

Again India took a leading part in the organization of regular meetings of the Colombo powers—Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and India—for consideration of problems of mutual interest. She was one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference of Asian and African powers, whose consequences may be momentous. In 1955, at our suggestion, she took the initiative in calling a meeting of Asian governments at Simla to discuss the question of co-operative regional use of American aid funds, as contemplated by our foreign aid program.

In these ways and others, India has played a significant role in the development of stable, self-confident intergovernmental relations among Asian and African countries. Her population, vast resources, and the long training of her leadership insure that that role will continue. It cannot continue to be played except at the expense of Communist Chinese leadership in the same fields.

Indian policy can draw upon a vast population and rich resources, a magnetic Gandhian heritage, an undeniable record of peaceful progress since independence, and a steady adherence to democratic ideals. The many African students now studying in India have already felt some of that influence. In 1954 they listened intently as Nehru spoke to the African Students' Congress in Delhi on the relevance of India's experience to the new Africa.

"Even revolutions eat up their own children," he warned. But he thought India might have found a way to end that vicious circle: "When the time came for an agreement between India and England, we parted peacefully, and no trail of bitterness was left behind. That is the virtue of doing things in the right way.

"Gandhiji always said that means are more important than ends. . . . Because of Gandhiji's insistence and example all the time, an Englishman could walk through an Indian crowd without anybody touching him. That was part of the discipline and habits of mind he inculcated. I do not think you will find an example anywhere else of a national movement being conducted with so little animus.

"I should like you to think of this, because I am frightened at the prospect of Africa going through a welter of blood and thereby losing, I do not know, a generation or two of lives in this business before it starts on its constructive and creative career."

Nehru recognized that conditions differed in Africa, but he was convinced that "even as these peaceful methods were right and proper and exceedingly practical for India, far more so are they practical and useful and should yield results in Africa, and any course of violence is likely to lead to grave difficulties."

Violence, he said, would be wrong, morally and practically. He did not believe that the "larger unity" and the "constructiveness and creativeness" of Africa could "be achieved unless one adopts methods which will help to unite and not separate."

Thus did her Prime Minister voice India's conception of her own relevance to the remaining colonial and underdeveloped nations. These gentle and measured words may seem out of place in our time of jarring conflict. But it is a rash man who will say that they, or any nation that holds true to them, are without power to move minds and men.

SECTION V

Challenge from Bandung

THE success of this conference will be measured not by what we do for ourselves, but by what we do for the entire human community. Our strength flows out of our perception of history and out of the vital purpose we put into the making of tomorrow. If that purpose is stained by resentment or the desire for revenge, then this conference will turn out to be a fragile and forgetful thing.

Let us therefore not seek to draw strength from hurt or heartbreak, but from our common hopes. And if the test of that strength should be our ability to forgive, then let it be said that we were the giants of our time.

CARLOS ROMULO
Philippine Delegate
to the Bandung Conference

CHAPTER 21

A New Asia Meets a New Africa

THE bloody revolutions that turned Russia and China upside down, and the peaceful revolution that is steadily changing the face of India, are only the largest and most dramatic manifestations of the world-wide upheaval through which we are living. Throughout the Middle World that stretches from Manila to Capetown, an awakening has been taking place that has already drastically revised the maps of Asia and Africa and which promises more revisions in the years ahead.

An excellent vantage point from which to examine the nature of this awakening was the conference that took place in April, 1955, at Bandung in Indonesia. In this lovely mountain city, spokesmen for twenty-nine nations and a billion and a half human beings, gathered to discuss the state of the world from the perspective of Accra, Addis Ababa, Cairo, Baghdad, New Delhi, Karachi, Kabul, Bangkok and other capitals of Asia and Africa.

For the occasion the name of Bandung's main thoroughfare was changed to Asia-Africa Street, and that of the scene of the conference sessions from the old Concordia Club—formerly reserved exclusively for Dutch officers—to Gedunk Merdeka, or Independence Hall. In his keynote address, the conference host, President Sukarno of Indonesia, cited as the inspiration of Asian and African

independence struggles not the Russian or Chinese, but the American Revolution.

His quotations came not from the Buddha, the Prophet or the Vedas, but from Longfellow's poem, "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere." Sukarno reminded his audience that the opening day of the Bandung meetings marked the 180th anniversary of the firing of the "shot heard round the world," the beginning of the American Revolution.

"That battle which began 180 years ago," the Indonesian President told the delegates, "is not yet completely won, and it will not have been completely won until we can survey our own world and say that colonialism is dead. . . . Vast areas of Asia and Africa are still not free." He called upon the conference to "give evidence that Asia and Africa have been reborn, nay—that a new Asia and a new Africa have been born."

At Bandung, two of the three great revolutions of this century met on one stage, watched attentively by the rest of the vast African-Asian audience now also striving to shape its own pattern of change.

One revolution was represented by the Communist Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai. Representing the Gandhian revolution on the Indian subcontinent were not only Prime Minister Nehru, but also in a sense the prime ministers of Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, whose independence was in a large part a corollary of the British decision to leave India gracefully. U Nu of Burma, an ascetic Buddhist with rare competence in the humdrum techniques of administration, has especially imbibed some of Gandhi's faith in nonviolence, and also has led his country in a significant spiritual revival.

Although in 1947, when an unofficial Asian Relations conference was held in New Delhi, the Soviet Asian republics were invited and sent representatives, this time the Soviet Union was not invited at all. By the very emergence of Communist China, the Soviet Union seemed less of an Asian power.

Much of the uninvited white world of Europe and Asia looked to Bandung with apprehension. The bitter resentment against colonialism in Africa and parts of Asia, and the rise of Asian Communism, suggested how explosive those two issues might be at this first general meeting of the world's nonwhite people.

When the war ended in the summer of 1945, colonial empires

still covered most of Asia except China, Japan and Thailand; most of Africa; and parts of the West Indies and Central and South America. In a world of 2.3 billion people, 850 million still lived under European colonialism and only 180 million under Communism.

Ten years later in a world of 2.5 billion people, these figures had been reversed. The combined populations of the Soviet Union, Communist China and their satellites had grown to a total of well over 850 million. As a result of violent or nonviolent revolt, 650 million ex-colonial people had emerged under fiercely independent, and generally democratically minded regimes. The emergence of others was imminent. The remaining subjects of European colonialism had shrunk to only 180 million.

The impact of these figures was an awesome one, and there were many in Western capitals who feared that Bandung would further dramatize the march of Communist power. There were fears that Chou En-lai might enflame anticolonial memories and turn the gathering into an anti-Western, anti-American demonstration of cosmic proportions.

Some warned that it might take a blatantly racial form. Since one local racial war was already going on in Kenya, and the skies of South Africa were dark with racial thunder, this seemed a good possibility in a nonwhite conference covering most of two great continents.

Perhaps as a result of this nervousness, the American Government failed to send direct greetings to the conference, and one State Department official, in a letter to an inquiring Congressman, described our official attitude in the ill-chosen phrase "benevolent indifference." We were, however, far from indifferent. The American press correctly foresaw the importance of the conference and more American newsmen traveled to Bandung than had ever before covered an Asian event.

Many Asian and African delegates, closely associated with the West, shared the fears of Washington and London. General Romulo of the Philippines stated that one of his primary aims at Bandung was "to prevent the nurturing of a racial alliance which could develop into an enormity that would convulse the earth."

But no such enormity developed. Indeed anxious observers from the Atlantic nations were treated to several tough anti-Communist

speeches and even one vigorous reminder that the United States had kept its promise to free the Philippines.

President Sukarno's keynote talk asked the ex-colonial world to recognize that its revolution had entered a new stage. "I beg of you not to think of colonialism only in the classic form which we Indonesians and our brothers in different parts of Asia and Africa knew," he said. "Colonialism has also its modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control and actual physical control by a small but alien community within the nation. It is a skillful and determined enemy, and it appears in many guises. . . . Wherever, whenever and however it appears, colonialism is an evil which must be eradicated from the earth."

His elaboration of colonialism under varying conditions appeared to fit not only European economic exploitation, but also domestic feudalism and international Communism. Speeches by delegates from Turkey, Iran, Libya, Iraq, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand and the Philippines pointedly included the Communist variety among the new forms of colonialism to which they were opposed.

The Minister of State of Iraq, Dr. al-Jamali, reviewed the history of Communist aggression in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and said that the Communists "confront the world with a new form of colonialism much deadlier than the old." The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, asked the delegates: "If we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?"

Although these speeches comforted many Western observers, we should not blind ourselves to the fact that even the most ardent friends of the West could not find a kind word to say about European colonialism as it still exists in Asia, Africa and South America. Anti-Communists, pro-Communists, neutrals and independents joined in the final unanimous communique from Bandung to say that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end."

More specifically the delegates "supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian" (Dutch New Guinea), and urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible to implement their obligations "under its agreement with Indonesia." Pointing to the "persisting denial to the peoples of

North Africa of their right to self-determination," the resolutions continued, "the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence, and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay." The conference also resolved its support of Yemen's "position in the case of Aden," where Britain maintains a base at the mouth of the Red Sea.

In spite of the eloquent indictments of the new and less familiar Communist imperialism, a lingering fear of colonialism in its classic form still remained the largest single common denominator at Bandung, and it would be dangerous to minimize this fact. This fear showed itself not only in direct attacks on the colonial powers but also in the instinctive way in which racial discrimination and lack of economic development were associated with colonial relationships, both past and present.

The ways and means of meeting these and other problems were various, and the conference represented a sharp diversity of political views. There are many Asias and many Africas: the Asia and Africa of violence, the one of peace, the one of Communism, the one of democracy, the one of feudalism, the one of neutralism, the one of Gandhism, to name a few, and these overlap.

Yet it is perhaps significant that the Asia of Communism and the one of feudalism both felt it necessary to give at least lip service to the ideas and forces of democracy. Not only was "respect for fundamental human rights and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" the first principle agreed upon, but more specifically the statement supported the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Why is it that when the "voiceless ones" of the world finally find their voices they join in a statement which, as we will see in more detail, is a basic affirmation of the positive democratic goals which we have been striving to reach since the birth of our nation? Why is it that Chou En-lai felt it necessary to acquiesce in full support of the very body which led the fight against Communist aggression in Korea and which still excludes his government? Why is it that even the representatives of authoritarian feudal regimes professed support for a bill of rights whose implementation would mean the end of their present form of government?

The answer, I believe, lies in the history and nature of the anti-

colonial revolutions. That history has consisted chiefly of the colored world's encounter with the nations of the North Atlantic basin. Somewhere in that encounter were engendered the basic democratic aspirations which are at the heart of the African and Asian revolutions. And in that story lies the key to whether the future of these incomplete revolutions will be one of chaos and Communism, or of peace, law and democracy.

CHAPTER 22

Colonial Revolutions in Review

ASIA'S encounter with the West began on a large scale with the Crusades, when great numbers of Europeans first went East. There they found civilizations of far greater wealth than their own, and the riches of the Orient soon became a magnet for a myriad of adventurers and royal explorers.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo's reports of the fabulous China of Kublai Khan further stimulated the pressure of the West toward Asia. Before long, venturesome sailing ships were competing with the overland camel routes. It was the legendary wealth of India which Columbus was seeking when he stumbled by chance on America.

Religion and trade were still ostensibly the motivating forces when Vasco da Gama reached India around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean a few years later. "We come," he said, "in search of Christians—and spices." Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, South America, Africa, the Indian subcontinent, the Malay Peninsula, the Indies (now Indonesia), indeed most of the southern half of the world, fell under Western colonial domination.

By 1874 when Stanley traveled down the Congo into the heart of Africa, opening one of the last unconquered domains for Western colonization, most of the non-European world had been split among a half-dozen Western empires. In pink, blue, green, red, orange, yellow—the maps of that time showed a good half of Asia and

almost all of Africa apportioned neatly among Britain, Spain, Belgium, Germany, France, Portugal and the Netherlands.

This race for colonial spoils provided the raw material for Lenin's theory of imperialist war, which we have already discussed. Indeed, for many, it seemed to confirm it. It also gave rise to the proud boast that the sun never sets on the British Empire.

But eventually the sun did begin to set, and today Africa remains the only continent where old-time colonialism, Western style, has more than a foothold. Except for Malaya, Hong Kong, Macao, North Borneo, Goa and Western New Guinea in Asia, and the Guianas in South America, the rest of the old colonial belt has, by the second half of the twentieth century, extricated itself by one means or another from Western rule.

The story of how one-third of the world's people won independence—a story that includes South America—is no less important than what happened in Russia and China. Of course in terms of numbers and present ideological impact, the revolution of the Indian subcontinent was the major event. As we have seen, the Gandhian struggle was an example of mass, nonviolent, direct action totally new to the history of colonial revolt and, indeed, of the world.

Syria, Lebanon, Libya and the Philippines are other examples of once-conquered nations freed without substantial bloodshed. Egypt and, to a degree, Iraq have secured their release from Western colonial restrictions through compromise at the conference table, but not without struggle.

In the Gold Coast, Sudan and Nigeria, freedom is coming without violence through Britain's enlightened policy of "creative abdication," stemming from its successful experience in leaving India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast, as a matter of fact, the slogan "We must go Gandhi" has been widespread among Africans, and the nationalist struggles there have been largely copied from the experience of the Indian struggle.

But peaceful techniques have not been the tradition among revolutions generally inside or outside the colonial world. Our own revolution in 1775 for instance was hardly nonviolent. A few years ago when Governor Luis Munoz Marín of Puerto Rico was testifying before a Congressional Committee, he was asked whether he advocated freeing his country by violent means. He smilingly re-

plied that while he was hesitant to imply any disrespect toward General Washington and the Revolutionary Army, he hoped that in the case of Puerto Rico peaceful techniques would suffice. They have.

But the pattern of armed insurrection in the colonial world has persisted to the present. Seven years before Bandung, the Indonesian countryside itself had been the scene of costly violence. Indeed the new republic won its freedom only after bitter fighting on two fronts.

In Indonesia as in India, nationalists had been systematically imprisoned and a jail sentence had become a credential. Sukarno, Sjahrir and Hatta, the new Indonesian Republic leaders, wished to reach agreement peacefully with the Dutch, but it became apparent at the end of World War II that the Dutch, unlike the British in India, were determined to hang on by any available means.

Just at the moment when the Republic forces, armed in part by the surrendering Japanese, and the returning Dutch forces, armed by the United States, were facing each other warily, the Indonesian Communists seized the initiative, organized an army, and in September, 1948, suddenly launched their own attack on the new revolutionary government. If the Dutch forces had struck at the same time, they might have presented themselves effectively to the Atlantic nations as protectors of Indonesia against Communism.

But the Dutch hesitated, the loyal army of the new Republic went into action, and the Communist rebellion was promptly crushed. Some nine thousand Communists and their followers were interned by the Republican government in prison camps. When the Dutch finally attacked a few weeks later, the Republic forces promptly executed some two hundred Communist leaders, to remove any temptation to liberate them.

With the lines clearly drawn, and with the Dutch leverage through NATO not yet effective, American support at last swung decisively behind President Sukarno and the Indonesian nationalists. Dr. Frank Graham, former United States Senator and President of the University of North Carolina, took a leading part in the negotiations which finally led to the Dutch withdrawal in 1949.

* * *

IN Indochina the rumbling anticolonial revolution erupted into a far more costly civil war. As in Indonesia, local nationalists proclaimed an independent republic when the Japanese left. Although American misgivings were strongly expressed by President Roosevelt when he said that the Indochinese people deserved their independence, French troops re-entered the area in the fall and winter of 1945–46.

During the war against the Japanese, Ho Chi Minh, a Moscow-trained Communist who also presented himself as an ardent Vietnamese nationalist, had led the guerrilla forces. Shrewd and dedicated, he had been considered by the American OSS one of their most reliable associates in harassing Japanese occupation troops.

Even at that time, Ho Chi Minh ("He who shines") had had a remarkable career. A frail, stooped wisp of a man with a legendary endurance of body and soul, Ho had traveled around the world, lived as a French cabin boy, a London cook and a Montmartre photographer. In 1919 wearing a rented dress suit, and inspired by Woodrow Wilson's plea for the self-determination of all people, he had showed up at the Paris Peace Conference seeking to deliver an appeal for Vietnamese freedom. The allied powers refused to hear him, and he became convinced that Wilson's Fourteen Points were not intended for Asians.

In 1922 Ho Chi Minh met Lenin, Trotsky and Bukharin in Moscow where he attended the International School of Marxism. In 1925 Ho accompanied Borodin to Canton as interpreter. Returning to Moscow in 1927, he organized the Indochina Communist party which joined the Comintern.

But despite this Soviet tutelage, many informed people believe that Ho Chi Minh remained a passionate, proud, supremely individualistic Asian nationalist, who considered his primary goal to be the establishment of an independent Vietnam. In pursuit of this objective he had had his taste of Western jails. In 1931, at French behest, the British imprisoned him in Hong Kong; after eighteen months behind bars, he had nearly died of tuberculosis.

In 1945, Ho demanded immediate independence for Vietnam. During the negotiations that followed in Paris he charmed those he met in much the same manner as Chou En-lai later won the reluctant

admiration of his adversaries at Geneva in 1954 and Bandung in 1955.

Yet Ho did not hesitate to threaten civil war. To Marius Moutet, the French Socialist Minister of Overseas Territories he said: "If we have to fight we will fight. You will kill ten of our men, and we will kill one of yours, and in the end it will be you who will tire of it."

Before 1946 was over, a French cruiser had fired on the city of Haiphong killing four thousand people, and the fighting had begun in earnest. By 1954, eight years later, Ho's prophecy had come to pass. The French were tired of it. Dienbienphu had fallen, and soon enormous pictures of President Ho were to decorate the streets of the former French Northern capital of Hanoi.

Here was the first successful anticolonial revolt led and dominated by Communists. Why had the Communists been able to do in Indochina what they had failed to accomplish anywhere else? There were several reasons.

From the outset, the French were determined to cling to the last vestiges of their former glory and in their effort to do so even relied on the discredited former Japanese puppet emperor of Vietnam, Bao Dai. This stubborn refusal to face up to the new Asian facts of life helped to make Ho's task of consolidating the nationalist movement relatively simple.

Four years after the fighting began, with a French Union Army of over 300,000 men short of equipment and sorely pressed, and with able French officers being sacrificed at a rate faster than the French military academies could replace them, the pressure for American assistance built up steadily.

Americans were cruelly torn. Indochina was a colonial possession, and throughout our history we had been opposed to colonialism as an institution. But we were anxious to re-establish France as a major power in order to strengthen the balance in Europe. We were also desperately concerned over the march of Communism in Asia. With vivid memories of Japan's rapid conquest of the rest of rich Southeast Asia after capturing Indochina, we reluctantly moved in with strong direct support for the French.

While France herself was spending more on the Indochina war than she received from America under the entire Marshall Plan, the United States between 1950 and 1954 added close to $3 billion

in military equipment for French use. When I last visited Saigon in April, 1953, an average of ten thousand tons was being landed daily from American freighters.

Once the French succeeded in defeating the Communists and re-establishing order, we hoped that they would agree to set Indochina free. To most Asians and to many of us Americans then working in Asia, it seemed clear that this gamble was certain to fail. There was only one way in which the war could be won: the essential, long-promised economic and political reforms in Indochina had to be put through in a hurry, together with a clear-cut promise of total independence and the development and training of a strong Vietnamese Army to win and maintain that independence.

But French concessions to the anti-Communist nationalist leaders, made at American insistence, were grudging, belated and inadequate. Because almost invariably these concessions followed Communist victories over French Union troops, they tended to underscore Communist strength rather than French sincerity.

The stubborn French refused to support even the most rudimentary village reforms, thus further weakening their case. In August, 1952, in his Saigon office the French-controlled Vietnamese premier frankly admitted that Ho had won the support of most of the village people. When his forces captured a village, he told me, they canceled all debts and gave the land to the tillers. If the French recaptured the village, they re-established the landlords and moneylenders in power. Thus the peasants had every incentive to support the Communists.

Finally the French, because of their own insecurity, were reluctant to create a major Vietnamese defense force. This meant that the tough indigenous fighting units that helped stop Communism in Greece and Korea were not available, and the burden of the struggle was carried by foreign troops.

Ironically the political slogans which in a large sense enabled the Communists to defeat the French were those born in the French Revolution itself. From the fall of the Bastille to the fall of Dienbienphu, the course of those slogans has often been stormy, bloody and sad. Their corruption by Communism is probably worse even than by the terror of the Paris guillotine, but it is perhaps a species of the same genus.

Most observers who witnessed the fierce desire for independence

among Indians, Burmese, Ceylonese, or Pakistanis agree that this pattern of violence, whether under Communist or other leadership, would have spread straight across South Asia if Gandhi's way had failed.

On several occasions I have discussed this point with Asian leaders such as Nehru and U Nu. All are convinced that if their own peaceful effort to reach agreement with the British had failed, they would have been ruthlessly brushed aside by men with more violent answers.

CHAPTER 23

Africa Awakens

IN the conference corridors of Bandung African delegates and observers, like their Asian colleagues, knew that peaceful solutions to their own formidable problems were not assured.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who went to Bandung as an observer, quoted South African Negro representatives there as saying: "We cannot wait much longer. Guns are being offered to us now. If we accept them, the biggest massacre in the history of modern times will result."

Moses Kotane, from Johannesburg, South Africa, representing the African National Congress which so far has adopted the Gandhian strategy of nonviolence, was ominous in his warning to the conference: "We are drowning, and will grasp at any straw that is offered us."

While these spokesmen were seeking and finding sympathy for their people at Bandung, the *Apartheid* program was proceeding apace in South Africa, with the beginning of the forcible removal of tens of thousands of Johannesburg Africans to ghettos twelve miles outside of the white city.

Already South African laws prohibit the African from following any profession that brings him in contact with the white population, or from owning any business except within the areas allotted to nonwhite people. No African may migrate from his province. Nor may an African be employed by whites in any position of respon-

sibility or in skilled occupations. These restrictions apply equally to a primitive tribesman straight from his kraal in the bush or to a British-educated African doctor.

In April, 1955, when the delegates convened at Bandung on the other side of the world, the South African Bantu Education Act was also beginning to be enforced. Under it the Nationalist Government intends to take over the church schools which once carried on most of the education of African children, and to replace this liberal arts instruction with training in simple skills and in the old Bantu culture—limitations designed to keep the Africans from ever receiving more than an elementary education.

The teaching or expression of opinion deemed by the Minister for Native Affairs to be "subversive" will be a penal offense without right of appeal. Perhaps it is because the South African white Nationalists realize that from the standpoint of their objectives the most subversive book in Africa is not *Das Kapital,* but the Bible, that the church schools are being banned.

Delegates at Bandung were mindful of these ominous trends in South Africa, and they knew that the strong racist convictions of Ex-Prime Minister Malan were being redoubled under his even more extreme successor, Prime Minister Strydom. The resolution on South Africa, which they accepted unanimously, bluntly termed the situation there "not only a gross violation of human rights, but a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man."

Although in a strict sense the South African question may not seem to us part of the anticolonial rebellion, since it is not foreign but discriminatory local rule which is being opposed, this rule by a small minority of former white colonists appears to Asians and Africans as one of the worst "manifestations" of colonialism. Events in South Africa will mightily affect the prospects for violence or peaceful change in the solution of the world's remaining colonial problems.

Gandhi's son, Manilal, has helped to lead the campaign of nonviolent resistance there, just as the Mahatma himself first invented the techniques of *Satyagraha* on South African soil a half-century earlier. So far, unfortunately, the Gandhian resistance has been crushed by police brutality. If South Africans in desperation turn away from such peaceful means, then all of Africa may be inflamed

with the spirit of violence, and the forces of moderation in the more hopeful parts of Africa will be seriously weakened.

West African students have even talked of a war of liberation against the South African Government. In Africa and in India I met young Africans who told me gravely: "We just cannot sit by much longer and watch this barbarism go on in South Africa." Indeed I know of no informed outside observer who does not view the coming decade in South Africa with deep pessimism.

* * *

IN all of Africa there are only 5.5 million whites. In South Africa 10 million Africans outnumbered 2.5 million whites, who are themselves divided with increasing hostility between those of Dutch and British origin. The Afrikanders in their steady movement toward a totalitarian state have not hesitated to ride roughshod over British as well as African and Asian sensibilities.

At the northern extreme of Africa, French North Africa with another 2.5 million Europeans and 22.5 million Arab-Berber population, is seething with unrest, and the French colonial administration is faced with problems ominously reminiscent of Indochina.

The dramatic initiative of Premier Mendes-France in the summer of 1954 eventually led to the signing of an agreement under his successor the following spring which granted internal autonomy in Tunisia. It was a remarkable testimony to the power and self-restraint of the nationalist Neo-Destour party in Tunisia. Its leader, Habib Bourguiba, who has advocated a Gandhian kind of struggle and who had not allowed his exile in France to embitter him, negotiated the agreement with Premier Faure.

But even this long-postponed achievement occurred in an atmosphere of sporadic terror in Tunisia, and the continuing opposition of both extremes—French settlers and nationalist Arab extremists. No sooner was the new agreement proclaimed during the very week of the Bandung meeting, than a protest meeting of French residents in Tunisia called the agreement "void."

Announcing that they would not "solemnize the abandonment by France of her sons in the Regency . . . nor the rapid and total ruin of the French-Tunisian community," the French residents

"affirmed with force their unshakable resolution to fight *by every means* . . . so that Tunisia may continue to live in French peace."

At the other extreme of Tunisia politics, the agreement was opposed with equal vehemence by the Old Destour party, which has traditionally repudiated any agreement with the French. A faction of Bourguiba's own party, the Neo-Destour, under the leadership of its exiled secretary-general, Salah Ben Youssef, supported them.

The day the agreement was announced in Paris, Ben Youssef was in Bandung castigating French policy as "torture and murder," condemning the United States for its failure to back United Nation's action in North Africa, praising Russia for its support in the UN, and demanding "Tunisia's only goal: total independence."

However, on his return to Tunis, after three years of exile, Bourguiba was hailed tumultuously as the father of his country. Even the old Bey of Tunis dramatically rose from his throne to greet "my son, my well-beloved child."

Bourguiba told his people that internal autonomy was "only a step toward independence," but that it called for patience and moderation. "Our new liberty brings us face to face with great new responsibilities," he said. "Beware of race prejudice and xenophobia. All Tunisians are brothers. Moslems and Jews must be considered as equals and must behave like brothers."

Even toward the French he urged the kind of friendliness which Indians adopted toward Britain after the struggle was over. "Our tradition demands that we be hospitable. We must respect all our guests in this country."

No one knows whether the trend toward killing in North Africa, in Algeria and Morocco especially, will be restrained in time to prevent mass bloodshed. But the recurring threats of violence there seemed to underline Bandung's plea that the French Government bring about "a peaceful settlement of the issue *without delay.*"

* * *

IN between the explosive northern and southern rims of the African Continent lies a vast area nearly twice as big as the United States with rich resources, a total white population of one-half million—fewer than the city of Providence, Rhode Island—and 160

million Africans. Here a visitor can find a variety of shadings of colonialism, in both vigorous and dying stages.

The four free multiracial nations of Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt and Libya naturally provide the greatest contrast. Here, as elsewhere, there are plenty of problems, but no colonial whipping boy to blame for mistakes and delays.

During the next few years these independent nations will be joined by three former British colonies—the Sudan, the Gold Coast and Nigeria—now all on their way to freedom. Italian trusteeship over Somaliland is scheduled to end in 1960.

In French West and Equatorial Africa and in the Belgian Congo, colonial areas which together are bigger than the United States, the pace of political development is slower. In Mozambique on the east coast and in Angola on the west, the Portuguese, who were the first to come to Africa, still confidently assert that they will be the last to leave.

Finally there is the remainder of British Africa. In British West Africa, where there is no competition between Europeans and Africans, the situation is highly encouraging. Because this low-lying area was so infested with deadly tropical diseases, it became known generations ago as the "white man's graveyard." The Europeans came here chiefly for the lucrative trade in slaves and gold and, paradoxically, to make Christian converts. As a result there are now no British settlers to lobby for special privileges.

With their extraordinary talent for government and their willingness to face difficult situations, British officials are now working earnestly to turn these West African colonies loose as soon as possible. Their attitude was typified by George Sinclair, a British Regional Officer in the Togoland United Nations Trusteeship, with whom I spent two days in the winter of 1955.

"I am sitting on a limb of a tree," he told us cheerfully, "and every day it is my job to saw a little further through the limb. Eventually, if I am successful, the limb will be cut through, my African assistant will be ready to take over, and I will be out of a job."

In both the Gold Coast and Nigeria the heads of all government departments are Africans, and there are combined British-African civil services. In the Gold Coast the Prime Minister is Kwame Nkrumah, a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and

for several years a member of an American labor union. In early January, 1955, Nkrumah told me confidently that freedom would come within two years. Nigeria is also headed for independence, at a somewhat slower pace.

In both countries the chief remaining obstacle is not die-hard British colonial opposition, but native regional differences, often complicated by disputes between the Westernized African intellectuals and the tribal chiefs. It was reassuring, however, to find that very few knowledgeable West Africans still question Britain's desire to set them free.

In British East Africa the situation differs fundamentally. Although the British territories here stretch for hundreds of miles on both sides of the Equator, most of the land is high, and the weather is excellent throughout the year.

During the last fifty years this ideal climate has attracted thousands of European settlers. Second generation families have grown deep roots and developed a financial stake in this rich and lovely country. With a few exceptions, they are determined to cling to their uniquely favorable economic and political status at almost any cost.

In Southern Rhodesia 50 million acres of the best land is owned by 25,000 Europeans. I was told that less than 10 per cent of this land is actually tilled. Thirty-six million acres, much of it sandy and unproductive, is assigned to the 1.7 million Africans who live in the rural areas. "When the white man came," runs an African saying, "he had the Bible and we had the land. Now he has the land and we have the Bible."

The resulting situation is politically explosive. An African farmer, viewing from his meager sandy holdings the great, rich, red-soiled farms of the Europeans, quite naturally says: "This is because his skin is white and mine is black." Just so an African worker in the Northern Rhodesian copper mines, paid on the average less than one-twentieth of what the European miner is paid, blames his inferior position on the sense of racial superiority of the whites.

In Kenya in 1955 we felt the sense of violence and bitterness that filled the air. Three years before, a substantial minority among the Kikuyu tribe had joined fewer numbers from two other tribes in horrible bloody rebellion under the auspices of the secret Mau Mau society. As a result 40 thousand Europeans and 120 thousand

Asians were living among 5 million Africans in a land of fear and death.

One Sunday noon in the town of Nyeri in the heart of the Mau Mau country, ninety-five miles from Nairobi, we watched a stream of European settlers move in and out of the near-by restaurant and bar. All of them caried automatic pistols and many had rifles. As an elderly couple of perhaps seventy-five passed by, we saw that the man carried a carbine and that the lady packed a .45 automatic.

The European settlers had learned to keep a gun in hand or within reach during every waking and sleeping moment. There were hideous stories of trusted African servants who had taken the Mau Mau oath and then helped terrorist bands to wipe out the families whom they had served for as long as twenty years.

The Mau Mau movement is reaction gone wild. In 1955 it seemed to be slowly petering out, not because the essential reforms had yet been put into effect, but because the Mau Mau had overplayed their hand and shocked their own fellow tribesmen with their bloody excesses.

However, the basic problem remained, and that problem, as in most parts of the world where revolution threatens, is *land.* In Kenya the choice land is in the hands of no more than seven thousand European families, and much of it remains idle.

"We have no quarrel with the European who tills a thousand acres as long as he produces good crops," an educated young Kikuyu told me. "But we Africans do object when he tills only a small fraction of his good land, while we remain limited to a few rocky acres. The Europeans actually forbid us to raise the profitable crops like coffee and sisal, except under strict limitations."

This African was typical of the young, earnest and largely moderate educated elite. Will the Europeans come to an understanding with him and his kind while there is still time? If not, he will be replaced within a few years by others who will talk a far tougher language.

No one can deny that progress has been made throughout East Africa in public health, housing and education. In both Kenya and the Central African Federation, multiracial universities are in the process of development. But the pace has been dangerously slow in the political arena where the explosions are most likely to occur.

Fortunately British officials seemed aware that far more drastic

measures of reforms are called for. "The situation is no longer purely military," a British Army officer said. "The army has no answer to white-black tension. . . . Bullets alone will not settle the issues raised by the Mau Mau."

"There must be reform, sweeping reform, or the European is finished," an able colonial administrator told me. "An enlightened few among the European settlers see this clearly and they do their utmost. But so far the majority have refused to budge. Unless they wake up soon to the age in which we are living, they will eventually bring all of Africa tumbling down about our ears."

In June, 1955, a British Royal Commission boldly advocated land reform on a multiracial basis in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, suggesting the leasing of available land free from color bias to anyone who could make the best use of it. Let us hope that the government will provide the necessary action and that the white settlers will relax their bitter opposition while there is still time for constructive action.

French Africa south of the Sahara presents a situation that falls between the enlightened liberalism of British West Africa and, to a growing extent, Uganda, on the one hand, and British Kenya and the Central Federation on the other. In this vast French territory the situation is eased by the fact that there are few European landowners to create the conflicts which led to the tragedy of Indochina and which have helped bring French-African relations in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria to the explosion point.

No one can say that in Equatorial Africa the French haven't been trying. In education, self-government and public health, their record is steadily improving. For instance, twenty-five years ago 60 per cent of the Africans were said to be affected in some degree with sleeping sickness. By 1955 French doctors had reduced this figure to 3 per cent.

The French administrators hope to develop a permanent and freely chosen relationship of the colonies to France. The avowed French policy has been one of gradual but total assimilation into French culture. When an African has received French education and French professional standing, he becomes a full citizen of the French Overseas Department. As such he is said to be treated with full social equality.

Yet there are grave doubts whether "full citizenship" will be

made really meaningful, and no one can say that the future of this French policy is in any degree assured. For one thing the grant of citizenship would give Africans from Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Madagascar and French Equatorial Africa nearly 40 per cent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. There are few who take this possibility seriously.

* * *

IN the Belgian Congo the colonial administrators are seeking to develop their own unique pattern of an African colonial society. The economic resources of the Congo seem almost limitless, and the Belgian Government has been developing them with skill and vigor. The African has been offered excellent opportunities for advancement in the cities, including all kinds of specialized technical training. He has been given increasingly good medical care and housing, and at least in the urban areas, a sense of economic security.

If an African acquires a good education and a high enough income, he has also been given most of the social advantages available to the Belgian. In 1955 this status had been granted only to a few hundred, but theoretically, at least, there is no limit to those who ultimately may be eligible. The authorities have not allowed the African to vote, but in order to diminish the racial overtone, they have not allowed the eighty thousand Belgians to vote either.

Nevertheless there is clearly something missing. One could say of such efforts, as I did in January, 1955, to a group of Léopoldville newspapermen who asked me for my frank impressions: "Before the war, most colonial governments in Africa did things *to* the people. Now you are doing things *for* the people. This is a great advance. But I wonder if you can establish the essential co-operation with the African until you start to work *with* him? Will he settle for anything less than dignity, and self-respect and a sense of partnership?"

Everywhere Africans themselves have been demonstrating growing interest in the outside world. Educated Africans have been looking to Asia, for instance, with avid interest, and not only in formal conferences like Bandung.

One night in the winter of 1955, we sat with several African

members of the Gold Coast cabinet and their wives, watching three Indian movies in the home of the Indian Commissioner in Accra. The first was a telecast film of a London press conference in which Nehru answered questions from three British newsmen. One of them asked Nehru if he felt that he was "helping matters in Africa, as the Prime Minister of India, by constantly stirring up the question of African freedom?" Nehru's face clouded. "I refuse to be silenced by your appeal for the *status quo*. If I were *not* the Prime Minister of India, I would speak with far more emphasis."

The Gold Coast cabinet members looked at each other and smiled. Here at last was the leader of an Asian nation who understood their deepest aspiration: self-government.

A second film was shown. Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia was arriving at the New Delhi airport. A self-assured, smiling Nehru stepped forward to greet him. Bands blared. A full regiment of crack Indian troops snapped to present arms.

The African audience was obviously impressed with this glimpse of the new India, confident of her position and strength. Here was the achievement of their second fondest objective: human dignity and equality.

The third film opened with the Damodar River in the northern state of Bihar flooding its banks, sweeping away villages through the "Valley of Sorrows" as it had done for a thousand years. The scene shifted. Huge dams were under construction. As the alert, confident Indian engineer described the results in terms of flood control, electric power, irrigation, he was dealing with the third major objective of the colonial world: rapid economic development.

When the lights went on, a sense of excitement filled the room. In faraway Asia a new nation had supplanted colonialism and was bringing benefits to her people. Africa applauded. Following the conference at Bandung, these ties will surely grow closer.

The momentous fact about Africa today is that its 200 million people are waking up. After a long night the sleeper is stirring, blinking away his drowsiness, and stretching his limbs with all the eager, impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood. This means that Africa will continue to rumble with explosive problems, conflicts and headlines.

Whether the mounting revolution in Africa will lead to construction or destruction is, as with all revolutions, an unanswered ques-

tion. In fact, that question is not yet wholly answered on the earlier revolutionary continents of South America and Asia. For, as we will see, the victory over colonial rule is never the end of the struggle. Unless a positive social and economic revolution in depth also occurs, and civil liberty is also achieved, the vacuum left by the retreating colonial administrators is merely a chaos that invites Communism or other corruptions of the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.

This unwritten but fundamental question was the most important of all before the delegates at Bandung.

CHAPTER 24

The Complete Democratic Revolution

OUR broad survey of revolutions in Russia, China, India, and the colonial world has already suggested that the word "revolution" connotes different things to different men. Before we examine the ideal of a complete democratic revolution, it is time to consider the meaning of "revolution" and the sense in which we use the term.

The most spectacular revolutions in the past have been violent ones, and for many people revolution is exclusively associated with organized hatred and brutality, rampant killing and burning. Some violent revolutions have been righteous uprisings against oppression, while others have been senselessly negative and destructive. In widely scattered parts of the world this age-old pattern of revolutionary violence continues.

At the other extreme are the quiet, but comprehensively revolutionary ideas of a man like Gandhi—ideas which, if implemented in practice, would produce a peaceful, but complete and radical transformation of the society that adopted them. Revolutions seeking other political, social, and economic objectives have been pursued with degrees of violence somewhere in between these two extremes.

These variations suggest others in the revolutionary spectrum. Just as revolutions need not be violent, so they need not be sudden.

Revolution and evolution both involve change, the former term usually implying faster change than the latter. But the pace of change is not the only, nor the decisive, mark dividing them. Comparative *importance* is also relevant.

Thus the changes that accompanied the introduction of mass production were so profound that we have always spoken of the Industrial Revolution even though the process itself extended well over a century of economic growth. We speak of the religious revolutions of Christianity in the fourth century, Islam in the seventh, and Protestantism in the sixteenth, not because of the speed involved in their achievement but because of their significance once achieved. Many historical changes, *evolutionary* in the sense that they have been comparatively devoid of the abruptness and sensationalism of violence, nevertheless in their impact and implications have been so disruptive and *revolutionary* that they deserve this broader and more active description.

In this sense in supporting "the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," the majority of the delegates at Bandung set themselves a revolutionary target far bigger and more difficult than merely driving out the white foreigners.

Most of them were well aware that the colonialism against which they had battled for so long, and which was now rapidly melting under the sun of an awakening world, was only the small, visible surface of the iceberg of their real problem. For the United Nations Bill of Rights sets the standard of full political democracy, economic welfare, and equality of opportunity for all—high standards indeed for continents full of hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance.

"Is freedom achieved," asked Carlos Romulo of the Philippines, "when the national banner rises over the seat of government, the foreign ruler goes, and the power passes into the hands of our own leaders? Is the struggle for national independence the struggle to substitute a local oligarchy for the foreign oligarchy?"

At Bandung the answer was unanimously no, although since many of the delegates represented just such local oligarchies, some of the "no's" must have been distinctly halfhearted. Nevertheless out of the Bandung resolutions emerged a set of four democratic objectives which should serve not only to reassure the people of the Atlantic

nations, but even more important, to challenge them to a re-examination of their own patterns of society:

1. Democratic self-government, free of foreign influence;
2. A full measure of human dignity regardless of race, creed or color;
3. Rapid economic development, broadly shared;
4. The abolition of war and the creation of expanding areas of goodwill.

These goals, added together, amount to no less than a complete democratic revolution. Has such a revolution ever been achieved in history? The answer must be no, if we limit our inquiry to a single country in a single generation.

Over a period of time, however, some nations have come decidedly closer than others to the ideal of a complete democratic revolution. The American Revolution, as we shall see in the next section, accomplished the first three of these goals in large measure: it overthrew British colonialism, established a democratic government with a bill of rights, gradually released forces which proceeded to develop a virgin continent into the capital of industrialism, and provided the framework for a rough kind of equality of opportunity. At the price of a civil war, it also succeeded in creating a permanent area of peace among forty-eight states that might have remained competing sovereignties.

Almost as important as the revolutionary achievements of American experience have been the permanently revolutionary implications of what has been called the American Dream. Historically each generation of Americans has been suspicious of the *status quo*. The leaders whom Americans have always respected most deeply have been the liberal exponents of the continuing American Revolution for ever larger democratic opportunities in all walks of life.

To most Asians and Africans, of course, the Indian example must appear to have even greater pertinence. Merely to replace the white sahibs with brown sahibs, said Gandhi, was to get rid of the tiger but to keep the tiger's nature. "*Swaraj*," or self-government, he said, must be the substitute for the British Raj. A "casteless and classless society" was his description of the ideal social order.

Village improvement was his passion. Nonviolence was his con-

tinuing method, both in the struggle against a foreign ruler, in the struggle against elements of his own people, and even, he threatened, against a free Indian government. The means used in all these struggles, he insisted, had to be consistent with the ends of democracy, equality of opportunity and peace.

As we have seen, Gandhi pressed his fellow revolutionaries to identify themselves with the poor, engage in village constructive service, to accept individual responsibility for injustice even before they came to power instead of waiting for it to be remedied in some millennium, and to remain loyal to truth and nonviolence throughout. Obviously India has not succeeded in achieving this complete revolution as Gandhi conceived it, but its living Constitution, its great free elections, its village-oriented Five Year Plan, all testify to the potential power of a revolution which tries to combine all these goals in one integrated program.

What happens when a revolution settles for less than these objectives must have been painfully clear to many of the delegates at Bandung, who were familiar with the several frustrated revolutions scattered pathetically at half-cock through various parts of the world. Standing in testimony to the peril of such incomplete revolutions is much of Latin America, south of our border.

* * *

ALTHOUGH South America was not invited to Bandung much of its early history is instructive. Simon Bolivar, South America's "liberator," was born in 1783 of a noble family in Venezuela and educated in Europe. Bolivar was an eyewitness of some of the last scenes of the French Revolution in Paris. He also watched the degeneration of the Revolution and the rise of Napoleon.

Returning to Venezuela by way of the United States in 1810, he soon identified himself with the cause of independence from Spanish rule, and participated in an armed insurrection. On the fourth of July, 1811, the South American insurgents issued their own Declaration of Independence.

Temporarily defeated and driven into exile, Bolivar in 1812 decreed a "war to the death" against colonial Spain. Leading his tiny army over the great Andes Mountains into Venezuela, he entered Caracas in 1813. "Where a goat can pass, so can an army," he said.

He convened a revolutionary Congress of New Granada, and in 1814, with two thousand men, captured Bogotá. By 1820, after long guerrilla warfare he decisively controlled Venezuela, New Granada and Quito (now Ecuador) which he united as the Republic of Colombia, with himself as president.

In another two years he had joined with San Martín, the Argentine who had freed Chile by much the same means, and together they drove the Spanish out of Peru. When Upper Peru formed a free state in 1825, it called itself Bolivia and declared Bolivar its "perpetual protector."

This militant new revolutionary spirit called forth by Bolivar and such contemporaries as San Martín and O'Higgins, inspired most of the rest of South and Central America to throw off European rule. In 1821, after years of fighting, Mexico ended three centuries of Spanish domination.

Although freedom from foreign rule was thus achieved, it was not followed, as in the United States and to a growing extent in India, by the release of creative and constructive social energies. In Bolivar's own territory and in his lifetime, his moderate efforts to modify the old feudal order came to naught.

As he saw what was happening, Bolivar wrote to a friend: "I am old, ill, disappointed, slandered, and ill-paid. I have never approved revolution, and in the end I even regretted our revolution against Spain."

The mass of people continued in feudal exploitation, governed by local despots instead of foreign rulers. A few days before his death, Bolivar commented with the irony of despair: "There have been three great fools in history—Jesus, Don Quixote, and I. . . . To serve a revolution is to plow the sea." Even in his lifetime Bolivar's success had thus become his failure.

For generations Latin America continued to be racked by a series of internal upheavals, most of them military and based on a struggle for power. *Coup d'état,* assassination and civil war seemed to be the only methods anyone knew to usher in a change of government.

Between 1821 and the rise of the Diaz dictatorship in 1876, Mexico had two emperors, two regencies, several dictators, and enough provisional executives to make no fewer than seventy-four governments. Despite these internal divisions, all attempts to re-impose Spanish rule were defeated. While America was embroiled in civil war the French puppet, Emperor Maximilian, protégé of Napoleon III, attempted to renew a colonial tie with Europe. But eventually he came to his own violent end.

Mexico and some South American countries such as Uruguay have established stable governments with vigorous democratic roots. Economic development, often with United States private and governmental aid, is now proceeding rapidly in many Latin-American countries.

Yet elsewhere there is still ample social and economic as well as political evidence that in democratic development much of Latin America is several generations behind where it could have been.

The single year 1954 saw a small-scale war between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Eucador, Peru, Paraguay and Bolivia all announced suppression of revolutionary attempts. The President of Brazil committed suicide in an atmosphere of plots and alarms. The President of Panama was assassinated, and the Vice President was charged with complicity in the plot.

In Guatemala, an independent nation, and British Guiana, a colony, Communist-oriented regimes had come to power. The first was overthrown by a military rebellion which most South American nations thought was masterminded by the United States. The second was suppressed from London by the withdrawal of the newly promulgated constitution for British Guiana.

The raw material for social revolution is also found in the history of Peronism in Argentina. Although Peron and Evita based their power on espousal of the cause of the "shirtless ones" and in promises of social justice for all, the methods chosen were reminiscent of European Fascism in the 1930's.

The democratic economic and social measures advocated at Bandung will have an obvious relevance for any visitor who goes outside the great modern South American cities to find many of the peasants still living on a level only a little higher than the lowest in India.

Another factor that makes for instability stems from the fact that most Latin-American economies depend on one exportable cash crop or mineral resource, such as coffee or oil. If the price of the leading commodity tumbles in the international market, the result is tragedy for the tens of thousands of local families whose incomes are tied to that product.

It was to overcome just such a disadvantage that the Bandung Conference recommended that Asian and African countries "diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials, whenever economically feasible, before export."

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If the remnants of feudalism and the lack of comprehensive economic development for the benefit of the people as a whole have dulled the effectiveness of the anti-colonial revolutions in Latin America, much the same may be said of the Middle East. There, too, formal freedom from foreign rule has seldom meant more freedom for the majority of the people. Where local tyrants have not imposed their rule by force, the functioning of the democratic process too often has been limited to a small, privileged, educated minority.

The Arab world, home of 60 million Arabs and the spiritual center for 360 million Muslims, is, for its own people, wretchedly poor. A region of ancient and glorious history, today over 90 per cent of its 3.5 million square miles of territory is desert. There is about as much land under cultivation in the whole Arab world as there is in the state of Iowa.

Part from land, the area offers only one major resource—oil. But the vast resources of this crucial commodity plus the Arab world's strategic geographical position astride the intercontinental sea, air and land routes has long made this area of key importance in world diplomacy. By 1939, only the deserts of Central Arabia and the mountains of Yemen were "unprotected" by European powers.

America for a generation had a special place in the hearts of Middle Eastern young people. Wilson and Roosevelt fired their enthusiasm. American University in Beirut educated a high percent-

age of Middle Eastern leaders. Today, however, American prestige, for a variety of reasons, has slumped.

In much of the Middle East, Arab society still consists of a few thousand immensely wealthy landowners and merchants, a narrow layer of middle-class professionals and technicians, and then the vast mass of landless or nearly landless peasants. The gap between the body of the people and its leaders seems almost unbridgeable and yet it also is beginning to be unbearable. Before the reforms were launched in Egypt in 1952, for instance, the country's big landowners—less than one per cent of all owners—owned more land than the lower 94 per cent. This system promoted a life of incredible sloth and ease on the top, and at the bottom, incredible misery.

At Bandung, Egypt was represented by its new Premier Nasser. Ever since 1952 when the Egyptian Army group came to power promising a complete democratic revolution, it has been wrestling with the dilemma presented by political democracy versus feudalism in an underdeveloped land.

Premier Nasser and his colleagues on the Revolution Command Council seem sincerely convinced that restoration of the freedom of political parties to contest elections would soon produce a parliament in which special interests could buy their seats and the interests of the Egyptian people would again be neglected.

So important is the question of economic reform, that these earnest and, I believe, democratically minded rulers, are now relying on a period of benevolent authoritarian rule in which to lay solid foundations. "We see no advantage for Egypt," Premier Nasser declared in Cairo on May 18, 1955, "in the establishment of a parliament in which men serving the interests of big landlords, or of Iraq, or of London, Washington or Moscow, would sit masquerading as Egyptians. We will not restore freedom only to have it exploited for selfish ends as it was in the past."

Consequently Egypt will have its "freedom in trust" for the "predictable future," while the educational system expands, a new civilian leadership is trained, a class of independent small farmers is developed through land reforms, and living standards are raised by economic development.

"Freedom in trust" is a risky concept, no matter how high-minded its guardians. But it is indicative of the lingering political

strength of feudalism that Nasser, like Ataturk in the 1920's in Turkey, finds it necessary to use undemocratic methods to root it out. The problem of getting a once frustrated revolution back on the road through essential democratic reforms is surely as difficult as any ever presented to statesmanship.

That the task of statesmanship, in this respect, has been easier in India than in Middle Eastern countries may be one credit to balance against the many debits of the long British colonial rule in the subcontinent. Initially British law and, later, growing Indian participation in parliamentary bodies and the civil service were a school for responsible self-government before Indian independence.

In Pakistan too a group of able, democratically minded men have been striving to create foundations on which a free society can be trusted to grow and sustain itself. Divisions between orthodox and modern-minded Muslims, the original fragmentation of West Pakistan, the separation of the country into two distinct halves, the loss of much of the region's former industrial production through partition, the lack of both trained civil servants and a popular, nationally recognized leader, have all helped to make their task more difficult and their democratic process somewhat slower.

Ironically some of the greatest strides in democratic economic development in an Asian land and in creating an egalitarian social system are now occurring in the Middle East, but outside the confines of the Arab world—in that sturdy little country which is the target for such bitter Arab animosity: Israel. This state, constructed out of the desert by Jewish pioneers from the Diaspora, and bolstered by massive goodwill and capital from the West, might have achieved a complete revolution but for one terrible missing factor—peace, which the very events giving birth to the state still keep out of reach.

* * *

AT the other end of Asia there is another instance of the enigma of the incomplete revolution. Japan was the only nation present in Bandung which was obviously not underdeveloped. Only a few years ago this powerful industrial nation was

able to introduce her own brand of colonialism over some 500 million people in China and Southeast Asia, before American military power could bring about her defeat.

Japanese vitality and skills will continue to make their heavy impact on Asia and the world for a long time to come, hopefully this time in a more peaceful context. Together with India, Japan constitutes for the foreseeable future by far the greatest potential source of non-Communist Asian power in the broad sense of the word.

The Portuguese "discovered" Japan in 1542, Jesuit missionaries led by St. Francis Xavier arrived in 1549, and the Dutch, Spanish and British quickly opened up trading stations. Yet by 1673 they had all been driven out by a wave of antiforeign Japanese nationalism.

For nearly two hundred years, until Commodore Perry with his small American fleet broke down the bars in 1853, Japan was off bounds for the West. In the following two generations economic and political changes based on European and American concepts occurred there at a rate rarely equaled in history.

When Mutsu-Hito became emperor in 1867 he took the title of Meiji meaning "enlightened government," and with the vigorous support of a young group of political reformers and administrators, rapidly changed the face of Japan. A national Parliament was set up in 1881 and a cabinet on European lines appointed in 1885.

Economic development was equally swift. Japanese engineers, scientists and managers went to America and Europe for training and returned to create an industrial nation. As usual, in any crash economic development, a heavy burden fell on the peasants who worked under great pressure and with few compensations to provide food for the growing city population of city workers.

But the habits of peace were not part of this picture of emerging nationalism. In 1895 Japan turned her attention to foreign adventures. She declared war on China and emerged with the new territory of Formosa. In 1902 Japan signed a military treaty with Britain and four years later, to the amazement of the world and the delight of Asia, defeated the considerable power of Czarist Russia. In 1910 she absorbed Korea. For the next generation Japan's military power, in alliance with Britain, served to discourage Russian expansion into Asia and thus to relieve the pressure of Asian affairs on London.

But Japan began to overextend herself. The Chinese War, begun briefly in Manchuria in 1931 and resumed at Peking in 1937, had been only partially successful when Japan launched her drive into Southeast Asia and simultaneously struck at Pearl Harbor. In 1945 when her leaders finally surrendered to General MacArthur on the deck of the battleship *Missouri,* Japan's future was unpredictable.

Because of the concentration on economic development and war, and the failure to carry out basic social and economic reforms establishing a broad popular base, democracy in Japan had never taken root. Convinced that Japanese society needed thorough reform, we used our authority in a radical effort to rebuild Japan from the ground up. We tried to eliminate the great business monopolies, imposed heavy taxes on the remaining rich, gave the land to the small farmers who tilled it, and established equal rights for women.

But this was a revolution imposed by alien rulers—a kind of benevolent colonialism in reverse. Although some of the actions of the MacArthur administration were ill-advised, they included the best land reform program in Asia, one of the most sweeping in all history, which brought new hope for Japanese democratic life. If a disgruntled peasantry were still paying heavy tribute to the landlords, their inevitable political alliance with the restless city workers and students by now might have plunged the Japanese political scene into chaos.

The new Japanese Constitution, at our insistence, renounced war and agreed that armed force would "never be maintained." The subsequent reluctance of the Japanese people to rearm is consequently a product, not only of their horror of the very idea of atomic war and their concern over the high cost of maintaining an adequate military establishment, but of their confusion over being asked to reject the idealistic new attitude toward war which our occupation policy had so recently prescribed for them.

In referring to his agreement to accept this constitutional provision General MacArthur quotes Prime Minister Shidehara as saying to him, "The world will laugh at us and mock us as impractical visionaries, but a hundred years from now we shall be called prophets." Whether democracy can be introduced by military "democratization," even with sweeping land reforms, is an open question. One thing that is certain, however, is the danger in carry-

ing out economic reforms and development without a parallel effort to create a solid democratic base.

Japan and Germany are two recent, non-Communist examples of the consequences for world peace and stability of rapid industrialization unaccompanied by democratic institutions. Each of these countries amassed the economic power to plunge the world into chaos, without developing the traditions and institutions which restrain the exercise of that power.

Europe watched complacently while the process of industrialization was under way in Germany and Japan. Yet these two nations became the major opponents of the Atlantic powers in World War II, and their rampaging might was overcome only at a fearful cost.

The natural resources of India or of colonial Africa south of the Sahara now exceed by far those of either Germany or Japan. Moreover, their populations are larger, and they carry a deep and insistent sense of grievance. The beckoning example of Communist Russia and China is not the basic reason for concern about what course their economic development will take but only gives it a special urgency and immediacy.

Industrialization and economic development have always meant large-scale political and social transformation of the countries in which they occur. But it cannot be repeated too often that, contrary to Marx, the form of the change is not determined by the fact of industrialization.

The opposite is usually true: the character of the industrial society that emerges is shaped by the nature of the social and political changes that have accompanied economic development. And these are matters of choice. Each phase and step of the development process may be accomplished by means which serve either democratic or undemocratic ends.

The reorganization of agriculture to increase farm productivity; the education and training of farm and city populations; the spirit and traditions of the civil service and private leadership groups; the allocations of capital as between heavy industry or decentralization—all these may be used in either of two ways: either as instruments for the progressive subjection of the people to the will and power of a ruling few, or as means of building habits of initiative and self-reliance, institutions of co-operation and democratic com-

promise, and a broad base for political power and economic advance.

Even the energy and enthusiasm which any development program needs to gather momentum may be generated either destructively, by arousing class, race or foreign hatred, or constructively, by creating a sense of participation in the positive adventures of national, community and individual development.

* * *

INDEPENDENCE, human dignity and economic de-development replacing feudalism: can these three aspects of the colonial revolution be successfully combined, or must one or more be sacrificed to achieve the others? At times they seem inconsistent.

Yet a concentration on one or two of them alone leaves a revolution at best incomplete, without deep roots among the people and subject to change without notice. Combining all these aspects of a complete democratic revolution is a staggering assignment which even a Gandhi sometimes feared could never be carried out.

Different degrees of emphasis on various ones of them were obviously represented at Bandung. Saudi Arabia preaches militant anti-imperialism and practices undisguised feudalism. Thailand has high literacy and health standards and has long enjoyed self-government, but aspects of dictatorship in her politics are difficult to deny—although announcements in 1955 of a planned move toward democratic participation were reassuring. The Chinese Communist Revolution was based on the elimination of an unjust *status quo* by methods which destroyed in the process the Chinese people's hopes for political liberty.

Perhaps the greatest promise of Bandung was the evidence that much of the leadership of the Asian-African world is concerned in spite of the obstacles with achieving a complete, four-pronged revolution. The negative slogan of anticolonialism was replaced with the positive goal of full democratic self-government. Nor was the antiracialism of Bandung limited to the old concept of white discrimination against colored people. The resolutions, of course, "deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation which form

the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world." Such racialism they saw as a kind of "cultural suppression."

But the delegates acknowledged that racialism is a universal disease. Concerned perhaps that some delegates, like the Japanese Tatsunosuke Takasaki, had spoken of the "racial kinship among Asian and African nations," and aware of Western fears that such concepts reflected the spirit of Bandung, the conference expressly denied that the African-Asian co-operation envisioned was "from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations." It made special overtures for increased co-operation with Australia and New Zealand which had received no invitation.

It was the wartime experience with Japanese domination that perhaps had most alerted the region to the dangers of exchanging white imperialism for brown, black or yellow imperialism. The deepness of the racial wounds inflicted by centuries of deliberate humiliation at the hands of the European had left the mass of people in Asia and Africa ready to welcome the Japanese invader who came in the professed role of liberator.

The myth of Western military invincibility had been exploded in the pounding guns of the Japanese Army as it moved down the Malay Peninsula toward Singapore. The mighty naval base, twin symbol with Hong Kong of Britain's proud rule throughout Asia, fell easily before Asian armies. Chou En-lai at Geneva was not the first to preach Asia for the Asians. That was the slogan under which Japanese armies marched from victory to victory through the Far East.

Everywhere, the Japanese were welcomed by local populations anxious for freedom from the long wave of white oppression. Had the Japanese been flexible enough to capitalize on this goodwill, they might have attained a more lasting success in Asia. But like the Nazis in the Ukraine they missed their chance.

Within a few weeks it became apparent that they intended to substitute a more brutal and exacting domination for that of the old European rulers. As the Japanese posed as a new master race, early enthusiasm turned to sullen and often bitter resistance. In the Philippines, the only Asian colony where the people had been clearly promised independence after the war, this resistance reached its peak of effectiveness.

In addition to the Japanese lesson, Asian countries were sensitive to the various kinds of caste and class discriminations prevailing inside their own borders. In India, for instance, which has so eloquently championed the claims of the darker races to equal treatment in international forums, there is the deep scar of untouchability. *Varna,* the Sanskrit word for caste, means "color."

As we have seen, Gandhi dedicated some of his most important struggles to the removal of untouchability. His work bore fruit in the Indian Constitution of 1950 which officially bans discrimination against outcastes and which in 1955 was spelled out through specific legislation, carrying heavy penalties. Yet habits and social institutions yield slowly and the caste system remains a lingering drain on India's vitality, particularly in the rural areas.

Therefore the delegates "reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries, pledging to use their "full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it."

* * *

NEXT to the colonial friction the Bandung Conference placed its greatest emphasis on the constructive problems of economic development. "Besides the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedom," said Prince Wan of Thailand, "man has material needs to satisfy. Economic well-being is the most pressing need of Asia and Africa, and there is an imperative necessity to raise the standards of life of the Asian and African peoples if only to protect them from the threat of hunger and poverty and disease."

Prince Wan knew that of the 2.5 billion human beings in the world, more than three-fifths lived in economically underdeveloped countries, and that most of them were represented at Bandung.

In large measure their economic predicament was closely associated in their minds with colonialism. Rightly or wrongly, imperial rulers were blamed for deliberately hindering their economic growth, for their lack of local industry and regional trade, for their lopsided dependence on raw material exports to uncertain Western markets—jute, tea, cotton, tin, manganese, copra, kapok and other items—and

for their lack of skilled training. Asian and African delegates at Bandung could not forget the old saying that every European colonial power built more jails than schools.

Thus the very first section of the Bandung communique recognized the "urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region." Thoughtful leaders in Asia and Africa knew that old criticisms of colonial misrule were no solution for the difficult problems they themselves now faced.

As a beginning of the new kind of positive thinking required, detailed proposals for mutual Asian-African technical assistance were adopted. The establishment of a special UN fund for economic development was also requested, along with a larger allocation of resources to Africa and Asia by the International Bank, and the stabilizing of commodity trade and prices. The delegates stressed the "particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for Asian-African countries."

Of course, the fact that the new demands for economic progress occur in the context of strident new nationalism and anticolonial racial consciousness means that neither the growth of true regional co-operation nor the growth of new and better economic roles for Europe and America in the underdeveloped world will be easy.

Contrary to some expectations, however, the Bandung resolutions expressly recognized both the "desirability" and the "need for [economic] co-operation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital."

The emergence of Asia's and Africa's long-delayed nationalism at just the time when science and technology have made unlimited nationalism an anachronism is perhaps the greatest irony of all these revolutions. A higher level of political unity, a world organization able to enforce peace, seems essential, for peace itself is now necessary to the success of any major program of democratic development and reform. Yet both peace and aggressive national sovereignty, which these vigorous young nations of Africa and Asia now claim, have so far in history been a contradiction in terms.

The United States had the advantage of a century of independence during which she could avoid entanglement with alliances and world organizations, during which she could concentrate on her own internal affairs, advise the world on how to behave, and avoid responsibility for the result. Yet such isolation is clearly impossible

for the new African-Asian nations. Perhaps the very coming together at Bandung is evidence that they recognize their fate requires some degree of submergence of their new nationalism in a greater regional or world unity.

"Freedom and peace are interdependent," the conference resolved, presumably meaning that the lack of freedom anywhere is a threat to peace, just as without peace, freedom everywhere is hindered in its growth.

As steps toward world peace, the conference called for the "reduction of armaments and elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control." Atomic energy should then "be used exclusively for peace purposes," which, by helping to raise the standards of life everywhere, would make possible "larger freedom."

Support for the United Nations was one of the first principles endorsed. No very imaginative proposals were made for the strengthening of the UN into a body better able to enforce peace, but several points which seem obvious to most Asians and Africans were made. Membership in the UN, the conference resolved, should be universal, and therefore Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal and a unified Vietnam should be admitted.

Representation of the Asian-African region on the Security Council was held to be inadequate. Asians never tire of pointing out that the two-thirds of the world's people who live in the Asian-African regions are represented permanently on the Council only by the delegate of Nationalist China, a government which governs only nine million people and which was not invited to Bandung.

The conference recognized "the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations," but warned against letting such arrangements for collective defense "serve particular interests of any of the big Powers."

This gave a kind of recognition to those nations which entered the South East Asian Treaty Organization set up at Manila. But it was hardly a sufficient answer to the problem of the common defense of the region. With the presence of Communist China, perhaps no fuller answer was possible at Bandung. But a regional organization for regional defense, composed of all those powers such as India who are not associated with either of the two blocs, could be a real contribution to peace.

The Bandung resolution to establish Institutes of Asian-African Studies in universities throughout the region suggests of course another valuable step toward closer regional understanding and more effective research into the past.

But at Bandung a persistent effort was made to maintain a world view. As General Romulo said in his closing speech, "The success of this conference will be measured not by what we do for ourselves, but by what we do for the entire human community."

Many of the non-Asians and non-Africans who went to Bandung to observe came away with a new understanding of the impact Bandung could have on the wider human community. An American journalist who attended the conference has told of later visiting Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, India, Burma and Thailand. He reports that customs difficulties were overcome when officials saw the Bandung credentials in his passport. Even at the Khyber Pass crowds gathered when the magic word spread that he had been at Bandung.

If a large proportion of the people of Asia and Africa can perceive from history how to complete their revolutions so as to achieve a full measure of democratic development, and if they can build not from hatred nor from fear but out of faith and hope, and with friendliness toward the Atlantic nations, then even the skeptics in the West would, I believe, agree that Bandung carried a message of hope to a world suffering from cynicism and lack of faith in its own greatest ideas.

CHAPTER 25

Bandung and the Cold War

THE very presence of Chou En-lai in a sense sidetracked the Bandung Conference from the consideration of the common problems of the region to an undue emphasis on the problem of China's relations with the Atlantic nations.

"If Communist China had not been ostracized by the West, if it had been a member of the United Nations like several other Communist dictatorships, I do not believe that Chou En-lai would have been invited to Bandung," an Asian diplomat told me sharply. The determination of other Asians to bring China into an international gathering was in large part, he believed, caused by America's refusal to recognize a big, if unpleasant, Asia revolution. To work and to talk with delegates of the Peking Government carried something of the excitement of tasting a forbidden fruit.

Certainly it is a fact that Chou made an immense personal impression at Bandung. He achieved this triumph not only by his own undeniable charm and moderate approach, but most particularly by the skill with which he identified himself with the deepest aspirations of the billion and one-half people represented there.

On each of Bandung's four key issues—colonialism, racism, economic development and peace—Chou was eager to profess his agreement. "Suffering from the same cause, and struggling for the same aim," said the Chinese Premier, "we Asian and African peoples have long had deep sympathy for one another."

Was the conference concerned about colonialism? "Most countries of Asia and Africa," said Chou En-lai, "have been subjected

to the plunder and oppression of colonialism and have thus been forced to remain in stagnant poverty and backwardness. Our voices have been suppressed, our aspirations shattered, and our destiny placed in the hands of others. Thus we have no choice but to rise against enslavement by colonialism."

Was the conference concerned about self-government for dependent peoples? "The Chinese people extend their full sympathy and support," said Chou, "to the struggle of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia for self-determination and independence, to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, to the struggle of the Indonesian people for the restoration of Indonesian sovereignty over West Irian."

Was the conference concerned about racial discrimination and human rights? "Not a few of the Asian and African peoples are still subjected to racial discrimination and deprived of human rights," said Chou. "People irrespective of race or color should all enjoy fundamental human rights and not be subjected to any maltreatment and discrimination. Human rights in the Union of South Africa and other places have not yet been respected."

Was the conference concerned about economic development and the effects of feudalism? "The majority of our Asian and African countries, including China," said Chou, "are still very backward economically owing to the long period of colonial domination. That is why we demand not only political independence but economic independence as well."

On peace, Chou not only presented the Communist slogan of coexistence, and pressed the Soviet appeal for disarmament, but even agreed to the resolutions endorsing collective defense pacts under the UN. In so doing he swallowed much that was contrary to the hopes, practices and principles of Communist China.

Chou even endorsed the UN Bill of Rights. He agreed to the resolution supporting outside aid and capital investment. He did not publicly press China's claim to the seat held by Chiang in the UN, and the Peking government was omitted from the list of those whose admission to the UN was advocated at Bandung.

Chou announced that he was ready at any time to negotiate with the United States the tensions arising from the Formosa question. As for the charges of a bamboo curtain and a police state, he invited the delegates to come and see for themselves. He even sought

anti-Communist delegates such as Prince Wan and
ılo and personally invited them to visit China and
hey chose on the mainland without escort. "He told
ıuld like me to see the good, the bad and the in-be-
lo said later.

delegates at Bandung would be fooled into ignoring
atures of the New China, despite Chou's sheeplike
ı their diplomatic representatives in Peking those
s which recognize Communist China, such as Pakistan,
Burma, Ceylon, India and Indonesia, realize that for
eople the Communist Revolution has been a costly
e for full-speed-ahead in wiping out feudalism and in
conomic development has been regimentation, forced
ling and the loss of all civil liberty. In this sense, the
ıunist Revolution cannot remotely be called a com-
n, since despite its public professions abroad, it has
promoted, the establishment of human rights and fun-
oms.

ıe non-Communist Asians have had enough expe-
own lands with the violence of revolutionary Com-
take Peking's avowal of peace at its face value. They
pite the vocabulary of peace, the textbook of Com-
far been not peace but violence and subversion.

years of their new independence most free Asian
ırmed insurrections led by Communists. The decision
: increased Communist violence which spread through
1948 was reached in Moscow and relayed through a
nference in Calcutta and the pages of the Cominform
ıper. When the new governments in India, Burma,
the Philippines, armed by the power of their new
d largely crushed these revolts, the Communists de-
rth to attempt to manipulate the stream of Asian
their advantage rather than to attempt to row

ians know all this and they still remember it, but in
g tempo of our age, time is obliterating the sharpness
ry. And since this period of debacle, the Communists
eful to come to terms with the ideas and objectives
they hope to win.

It is ironical that the Communists, supposedly dedicated to economic determinism, have played most adeptly on noneconomic factors in their political agitation throughout the colonial world. American policy, on the other hand, has seemed to show far too little appreciation of the all-important psychological and political realities.

Thus, in the UN General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council where on many occasions the spotlight of world attention has been focused on colonial problems, the United States, in the judgment of Africans and Asians, has on balance shown up poorly. In 1954, for example, colonial problems in Cyprus, Morocco, Tunisia and Dutch West New Guinea (Irian) were pressed for General Assembly consideration. Against the views of most of the ex-colonial Arab and South American nations, the American delegation, on a number of grounds, successfully opposed General Assembly debate on the claims of these peoples still without self-rule. Such actions, as Senator Walter George warned us in July, 1955, "too often have seemed to put the United States on the side of colonialism."

The Soviet Union, however, has been a vigorous anticolonial spokesman at the UN. Indeed at every international conference since the early 1920's Soviet representatives have persistently associated Russia with the cause of anticolonialism.

Many of the African delegates at Bandung must have heard, as I did in the winter of 1955 in Africa, skillful Communist radio broadcasts from East European stations, beamed into colonial Africa in several different languages. For the moment, these broadcasts are aiming particularly at the Arabs of French North Africa, but they are likely to expand in coverage and effectiveness. The Russians, although vulnerable themselves to the charge of a new colonialism, have not been effectively challenged on this point by our own information program. This has left them free to champion the anticolonial cause with great effectiveness.

Closely related to Moscow's well-established opposition to European-style colonialism, is its stand against racialism. For instance, when the question of whether the UN's three-man observation commission on racial conditions in South Africa should be continued in spite of South African refusal to co-operate with the UN, the Soviet bloc supported the motion of the Asian and African countries.

Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand opposed, and the

United States abstained. We objected to the first report of the commission on the ground that it "accepted at face value the assertion that the Soviet Union had banned race discrimination." But this did not satisfy the underdeveloped world, which was concerned with racialism in Africa, not in Russia.

As the *Indian Express* said on April 5, 1955: "If the suppression of people for their opinion is wrong in Russia or China, far worse is the suppression of people for their color in Africa. . . . The fact is that Western powers, by their obsession with Communism and their collusion with racialism are yielding a great moral advantage to the enemies of freedom."

Moreover, Moscow has succeeded in convincing most of the world that its record on racial equality is good. It may be equality of suffering, equality under tyranny, but at least until the brutal anti-Semitism of Stalin's last days and some of the more drastic dispersals of national groups after the war, Russia seemed relatively free from systematic persecution or discrimination on racial grounds.

On this issue the world Communist movement has been vastly fortified by the emergence of Communist China, for now the largest Communist country in the world is a colored, Asian country. Probably the greatest asset Chou had at Bandung was the simple fact that he was a fellow Asian.

This advantage can perhaps best be measured by the suspicion which an American faces because of the discrimination still practiced in our own country. Over and over again while I was in India, I was confronted with the startling question whether we atom-bombed the Japanese because they were yellow, while we refrained from atom-bombing the Germans because they were white. No explanations ever quite seemed to silence doubts on this question.

In the long run our progress in coping with discrimination in America will have a major influence throughout the world. In this sense, it may well be that the most important American foreign policy document of recent years was issued not from the White House or State Department, but was spoken in the measured tones of the Chief Justice of the United States reading the Supreme Court's decision that the Constitution forbade segregation in public schools.

Communism appeals perhaps most significantly to the Asian-African desire for economic development. The very emergence of Russia as a great industrial power able to threaten the whole of the

Atlantic area, after two generations of Communist development, excites the imagination of Asia. If China succeeds in mastering her very formidable problem of peasant organization and food production and also moves toward rapid industrialization, her appeal as a fellow Asian nation will be even more persuasive.

* * *

WHILE most of the nations represented at Bandung have rejected these various appeals of Communism and of China, they knew that the real power of the appeal was being exerted not on the leaders of the Asian and African countries, and not even on the often hungry peasants and workers, but primarily on the young and sometimes frustrated intellectuals who are invariably the revolutionary leaders.

The Communist appeal to the young student who graduates from a Western-influenced liberal arts university into a world of poverty in which all too often there is no adequate job for him—this is one of the most ominous aspects of contemporary underdeveloped societies. For centuries young people in both Asia and Africa accepted the old ways almost without question. Long-established family systems, tribal customs and religious patterns set the limits of thought, action and opportunity. Into these static, regimented societies, the ideas and ideals of Western democracy and individualism came like a mighty wind.

Christian missionaries spread across Africa, ultimately to win twenty million converts. College professors from Europe toured the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. The sons of thousands of higher income families from Capetown to Shanghai started their long trek to Europe and America for a Western education.

There these young people had been persuaded by their Western teachers that the individual is all-important, that he has the right to think and act for himself and to forge ahead to the limit of his capacities. In Asia and Africa these essential principles of life which the West took for granted constituted a revolution in themselves.

But these young people, having responded with enthusiasm to the exciting new ideas of the West, soon found to their dismay that outside of Europe and America, most Europeans were only willing to

see these ideas applied under strict limits set by them. These limits were defined in the colonial world of Asia and Africa in terms of color, race and national origin.

Because this discrimination repudiated the very teachings which had just taken root, it has resulted in frustration and resentment. In the eyes of most young Asians and Africans it has meant that Europe and America, too, had rejected their own democratic revolution.

Most of these young people have also faced strict limitations of financial opportunity. Many of them are idealistic, eager to serve their country, shocked at the misery all about them, and sincerely anxious to remedy it. To them the Communist agitator appears not as a totalitarian brute wielding the blacksnake whip in our familiar cartoon style, but often as a dedicated individual who offers them a shining new vehicle for active organized service to mankind.

In this new pattern of discipline many young idealistic Asians find at least for a time a satisfying sense of security and purpose. The party tells them what to like, what to hate, and what to do in terms of the all-inclusive Marxian ideology. The young Communist feels a quickening sense of importance, of participation, of working shoulder to shoulder with others of his generation in a mighty movement, presumably dedicated to the creation of a united class-free world.

He reads that Lenin once said, "We are marching in a compact group along a difficult path firmly holding each other by the hand." Over and over again he is reminded that however grim and discouraging the outlook may now appear for the ultimate triumph of Communism in his country, the prospects looked even less likely in Russia in 1906 or China in 1927.

To the young people of Asia one of the most appealing things about the Communist movement is the fact that its leaders seem to take no graft, and appear to seek nothing for themselves. In such honestly governed countries as the United States, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom this would scarcely set a man apart, but in Asia, which has seen so much corruption and abuse of the poor by the rich, the effect is often explosive.

In Indochina Joseph Alsop wrote that what impressed him most was "the moral fervor [the Communists] inspired among non-Communists . . . and the stout support they had obtained from the

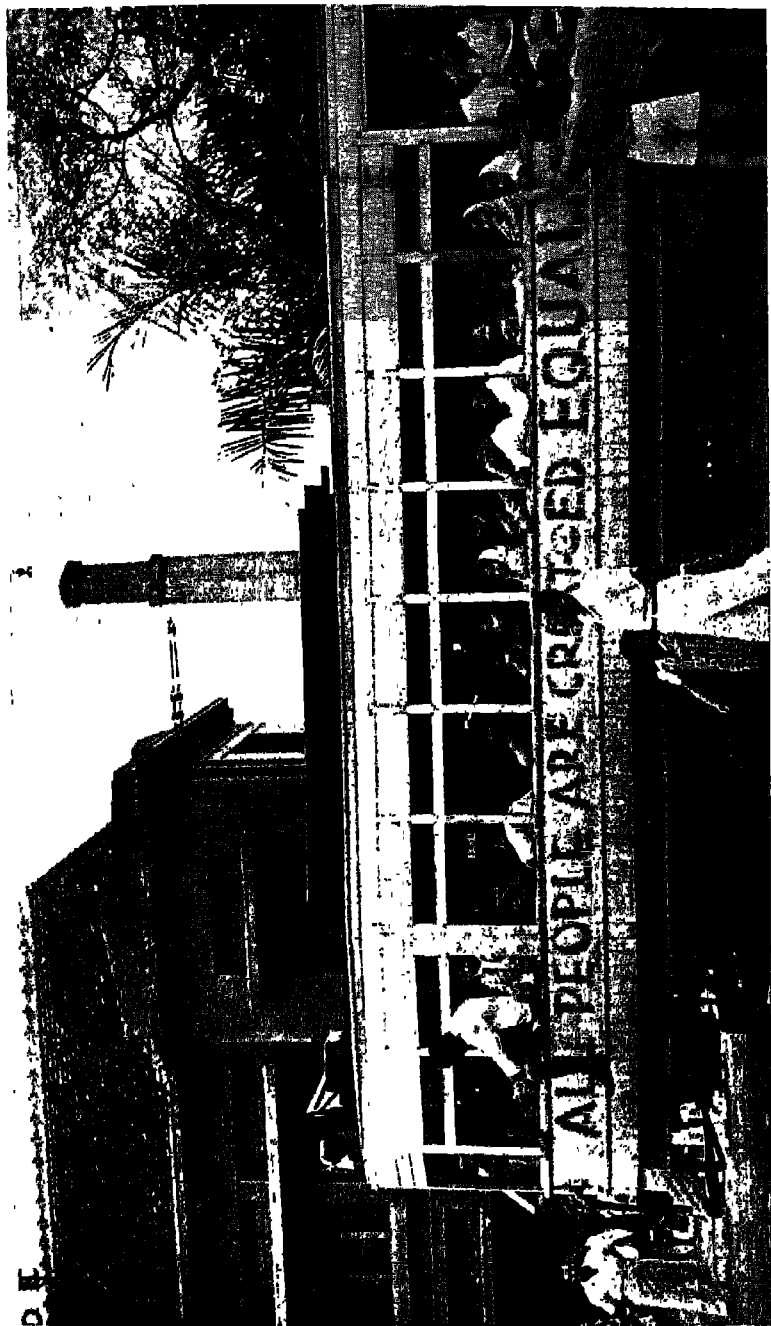
peasantry." He spoke of the "many thousands of self-denying, dedicated men" who led the work, their willingness to "sacrifice and to die for the cause," the contrast between "the economy, efficiency and moral unity" of the Communist areas, and the "chaos and corruption" of French-held Saigon.

After the initial period of excited idealism, the young Communist often runs into disillusionment. He finds himself under the pressure of his family life, of his group or religious loyalties, and of his accustomed moral values. He is asked to accept the practice of fraud and violence as a legitimate means to achieve the glittering ends which first attracted him to Communism. Sometimes he succeeds in making this adjustment; sometimes he does not. Many of those who ultimately reject the Communist doctrine remain tragic figures. They have defied society and can no longer be happy in normal life, and they have lost the emotional security which the Communist party organization once provided.

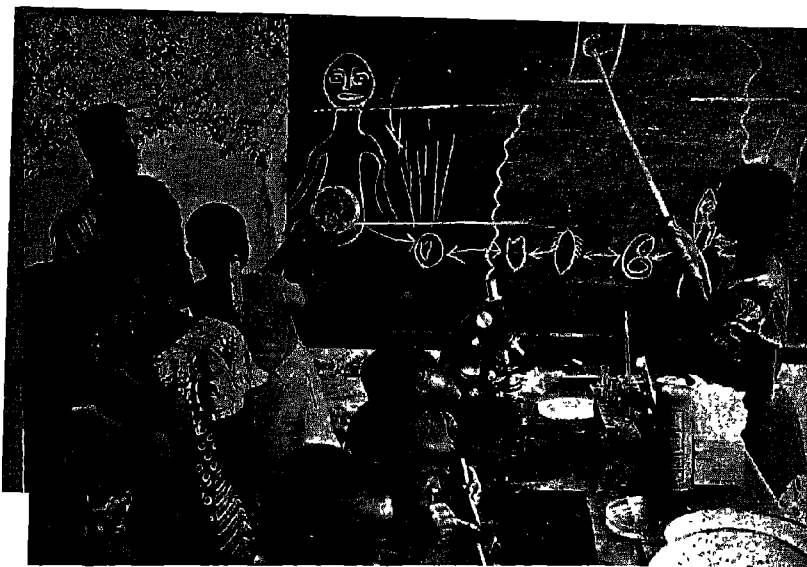
Yet the non-Communist nations represented at Bandung could not count on this process of disillusionment to work fast enough to prevent Communism from being a major threat in their own countries. They did, however, have one substantial fact to encourage them to feel that despite the revolutionary potential in Communism, the new nations of Asia and Africa might have a chance to work out their destiny by themselves.

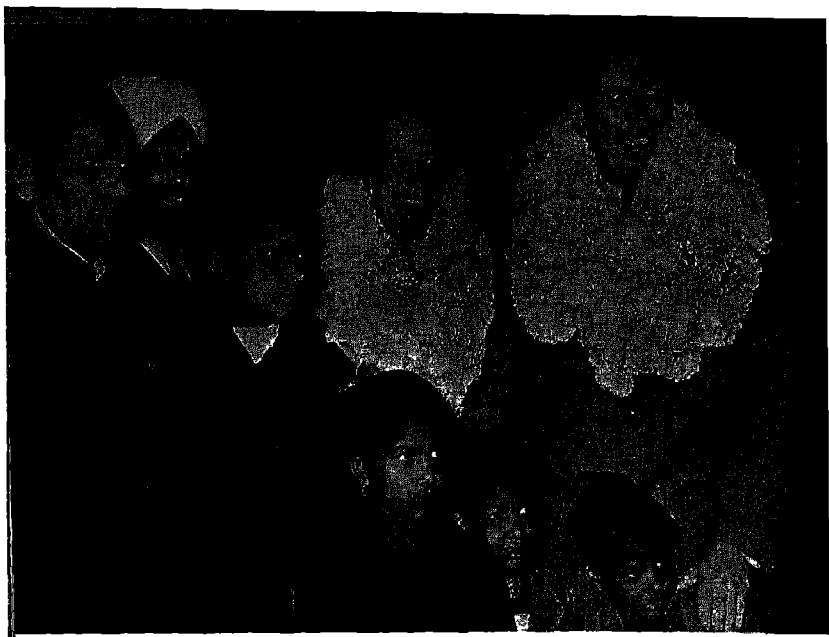
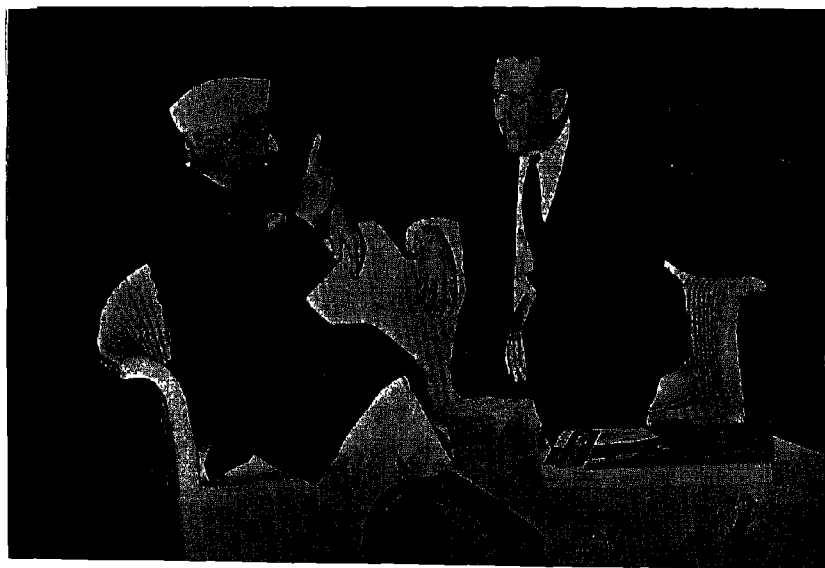
Despite the power of its ideological appeal and the extraordinary abilities of many of its leaders, in forty years Communism throughout the world has succeeded only under one of two conditions.

The first is the case of a relatively weak and divided nation either occupied by the Red Army or with powerful Red Army units on its frontier. Thus between 1945 and 1948, this threat of military action, combined with skilled political techniques, enabled Moscow to take over the war-weary nations of the Balkans, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

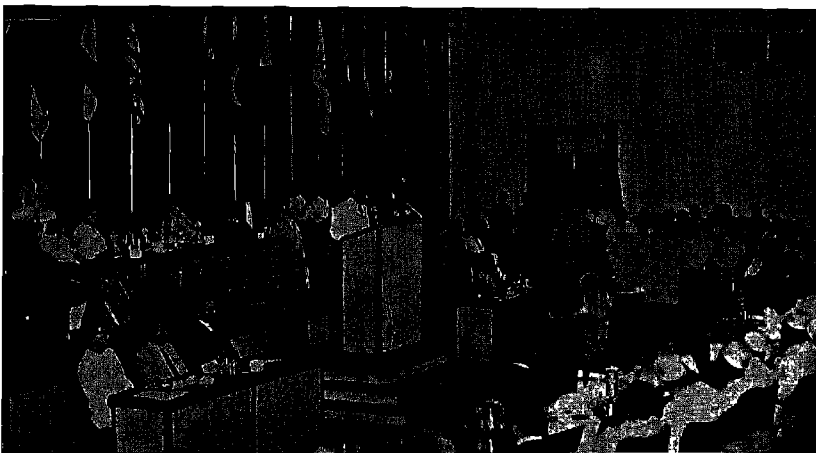
The second set of conditions under which Communism has succeeded calls for strong indigenous Communist leadership that is flexible enough in regard to Marxist doctrine to create a mass following out of a pattern of injustice, poverty, corruption and frustration, and the failure of non-Communist bodies to carry through a complete democratic revolution to remedy these ills. This, as we have seen,

A Jakarta streetcar in the midst of the Indonesian Revolution of 1948. The battle cries of the American Revolution still rally men against colonialism and inequality. (Florea, *Life*)

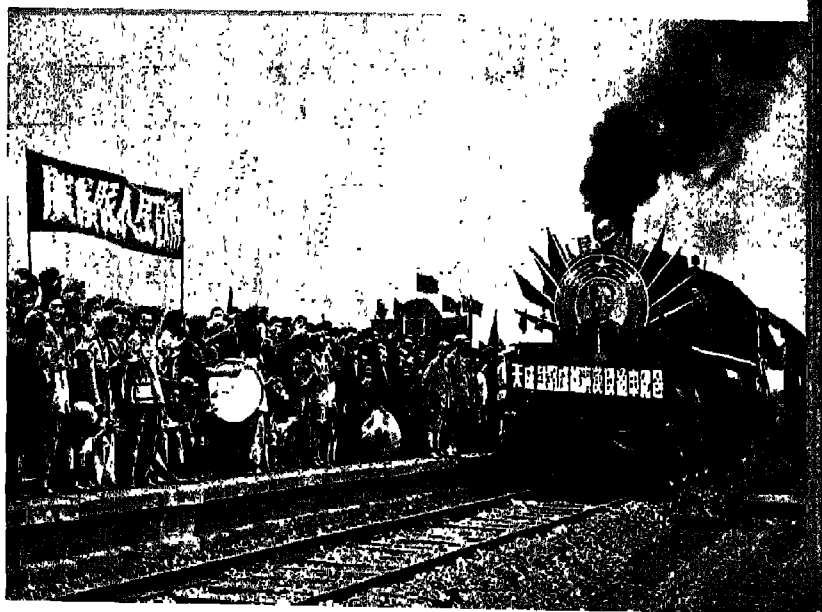
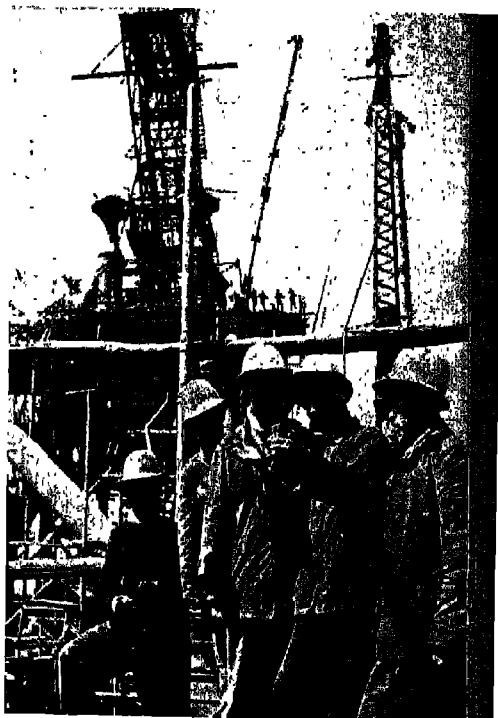
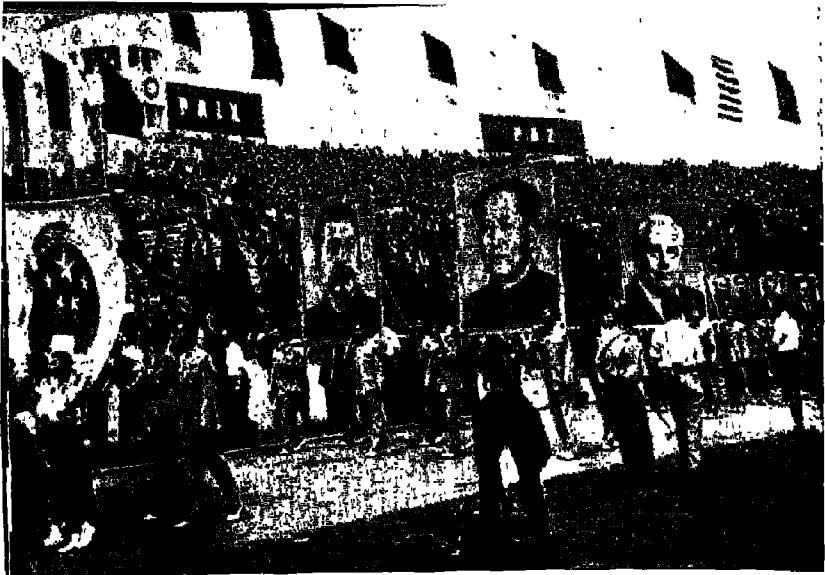
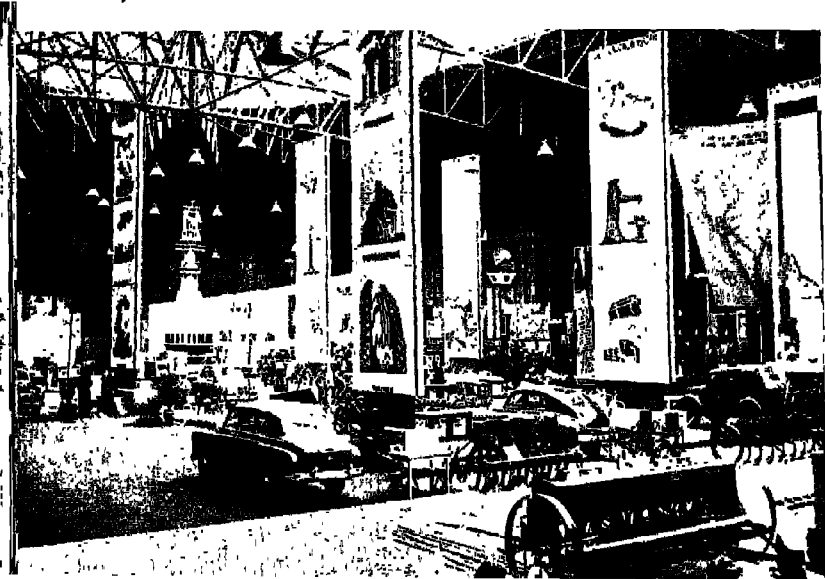
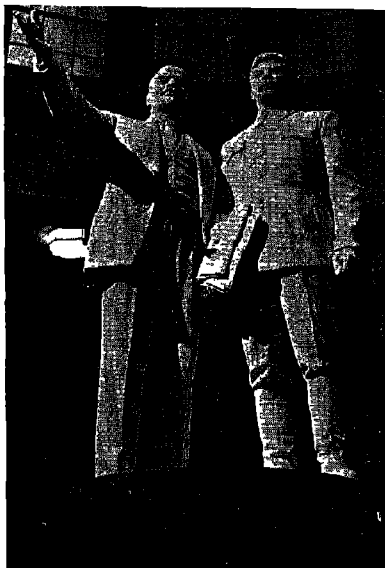
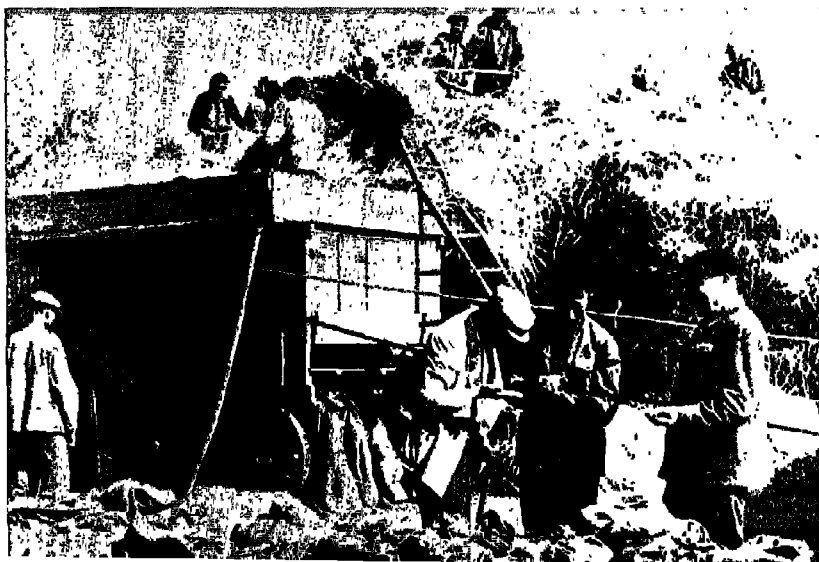
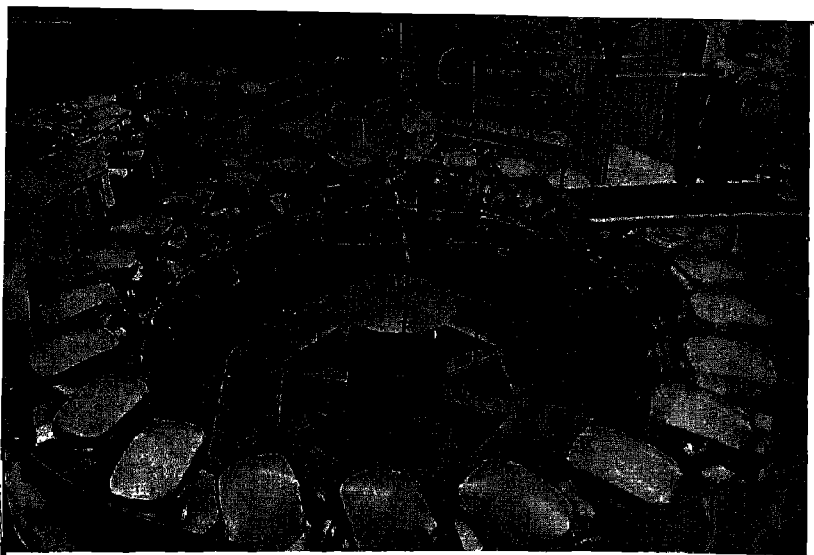
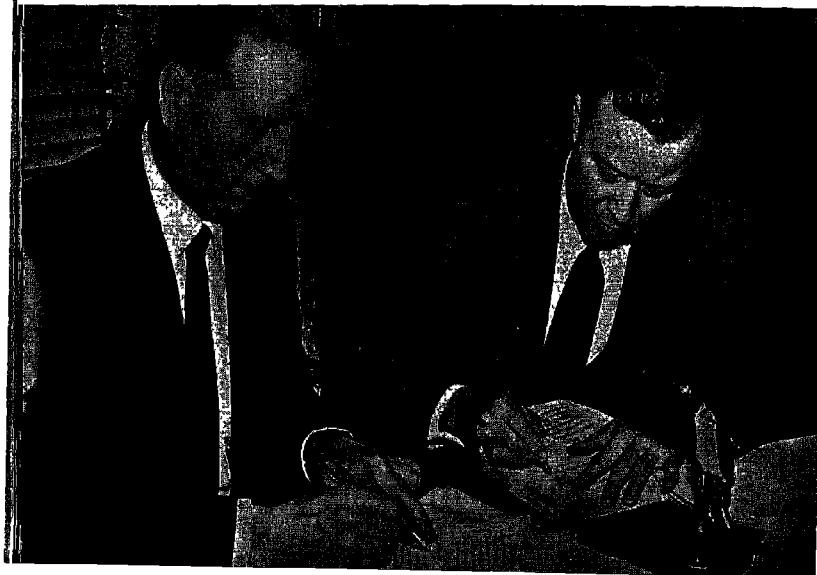
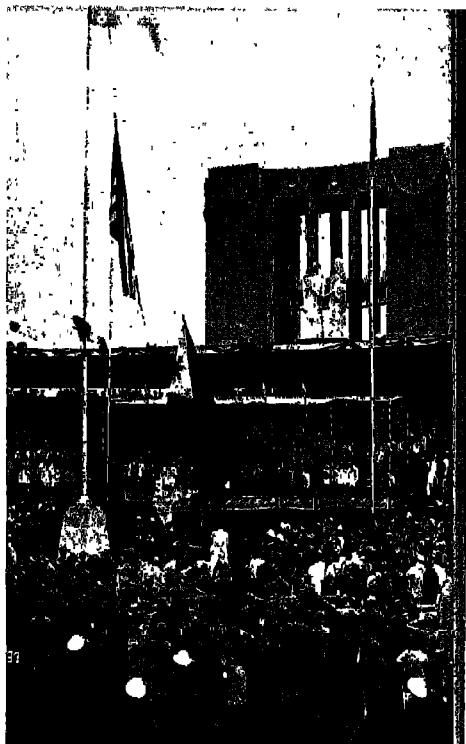
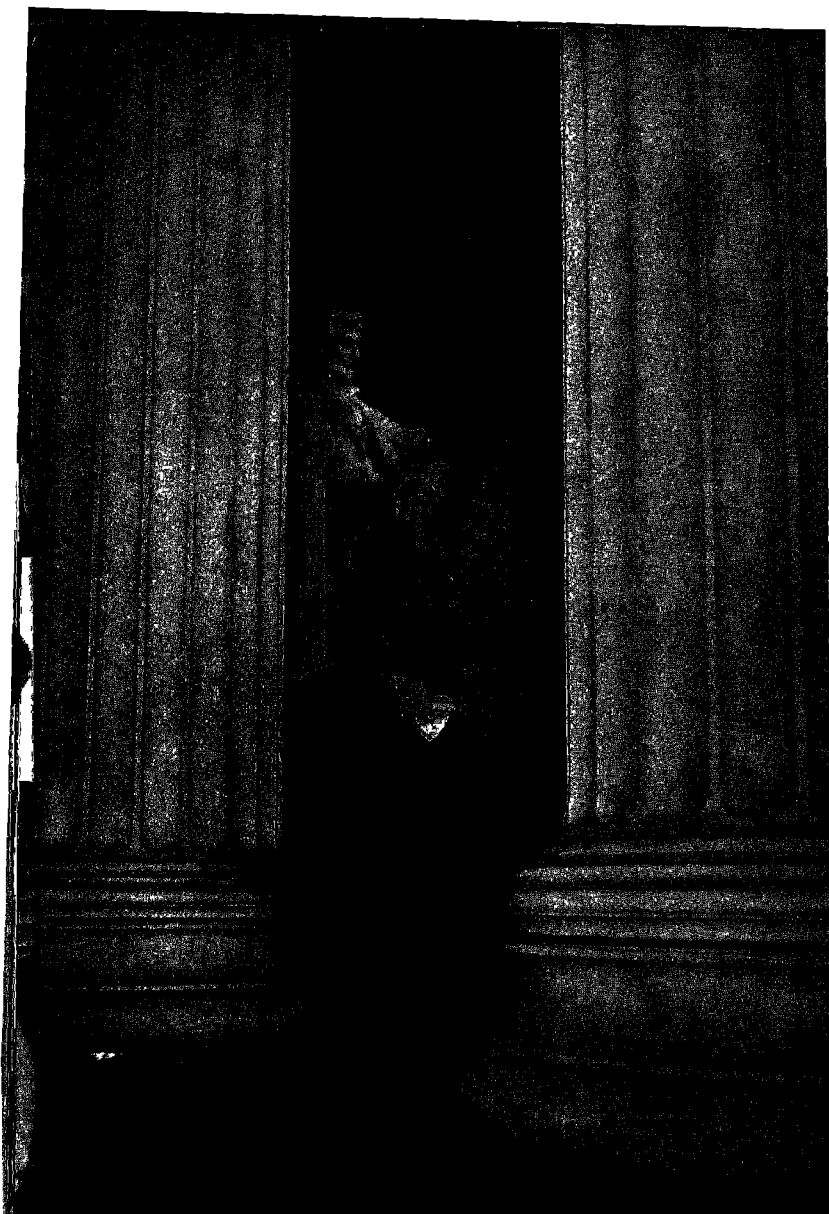
Above: Citizens of the Upper Nile line up for voting in the Sudanese elections of 1953, the first step in the rapid, peaceful achievement of self-government under an Anglo-Egyptian agreement. (Wide World) *Left:* Mau Mau uprisings in Kenya testify that there is also a violent edge to the African anti-colonial revolution. Here a British soldier guards a captured woman terrorist. The beads around her neck identify her as a Mau Mau lieutenant. (Wide World) *Below:* The Gandhian heritage of passive resistance lives on in South Africa as opponents of Apartheid racial segregation laws protest by volunteering for jail. (Wide World)

Above: In Africa in 1955 my wife and I were most impressed with the enlightened policies leading to speedy self-government in the Gold Coast. Here we are enjoying the hospitality of the Gold Coast's remarkable liberal Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah (next to Mrs. Bowles), and the Minister of Agriculture, J. E. Jantuah. *Right:* If political progress is not so obvious in the Belgian Congo, great strides have been made there in training Africans in technical skills. Here a European technician teaches African workmen how to operate a complex machine. (Belgian , Information Center) *Below:* In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Mrs. Bowles and I had an encouraging conversation with Emperor Haile Selassie. Save for its unhappy experiences with Italian imperialism, his ancient kingdom has been independent for centuries.

Above: An outdoor health classroom in the Congo. In many countries of the underdeveloped world, the demand for better health education and medical facilities is evoking a heartening response. (Belgian Information Center) *Below:* This Pakistani baby's moment of anguish will be rewarded by a 3 to 5 year immunity from tuberculosis. The techniques of inoculation were learned from a Scandinavian doctor-nurse team which toured Pakistan on a mass vaccination program. (Wide World)

Above: In Karachi I had a stimulating talk with the efficient, charming General Mirza, who became Governor-General of Pakistan in August, 1955. *Right:* At a reception my wife visited with the Minister for Law, H. S. Suhrawardy. A man of great public appeal in East Pakistan, and a former follower of Gandhi, he is likely to play an increasingly important role in Pakistan affairs. *Below:* Mrs. Bowles (in center) with leaders of the All Pakistan Women's Association.

Above: On our return to New Delhi in 1955, my wife and I were greeted by our former household staff and their children. *Below:* One of the most complex and controversial figures in the international scene. Jawaharlal Nehru remains the popular and able leader of the world's largest democracy. He was warm and affable as we talked in the garden of his New Delhi residence. (NBC-TV)

Above: In 1948 Mulug was the scene of a Communist uprising, burning of villages, and the killing of landlords. When this picture was taken in 1955, the area reflected the enthusiasm and progress of the new Indian village development program. *Right:* We were surprised and touched at the welcoming delegation and signs when we visited the Mulug Community Development Project area in the Telengana district of Hyderabad. *Below right:* This Indian girl has learned early in life to follow centuries-old laundry methods by washing clothes in the river and rubbing them against stones.

Above: On a crowded Indian street during our return visit in 1955. (NBC-TV) *Left:* India's "walking saint," Vinoba Bhave, sets a fast pace through Indian villages while asking land gifts for the landless. My wife accompanied him for a day on his pilgrimage. (Wide World) *Below:* A modern steam electric power plant in the Damodar Valley is part of the effort of the Indian Five Year Plan to furnish power to India's richest industrial area while irrigating two million acres of land and controlling its historically disastrous floods. (Wide World)

Above: Laying a wreath in Rangoon at the mausoleum of General Aung San, the leader of the campaign for Burmese freedom who was assassinated by right-wing extremists in 1948. *Right:* In Rangoon with Burma's gentle, engaging, and talented Prime Minister U Nu —an ardent democrat, a linguist, and a leader of his country's Buddhist revival. *Below:* Afghanistan's Premier Mohammed Naim Khan, center, sloshes water at U Nu from a bowl held by Egypt's Premier Nasser during a Burmese New Year celebration. The Premiers were en route to Bandung in April, 1955. (Wide World)

Above: The Bandung Conference of 29 African-Asian nations is opened by President Sukarno of Indonesia. The delegates were unequivocal in their demands for national self-determination, human dignity, and economic development. (Wide World) *Left:* In Peking after the Bandung Conference, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai entertained President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, whose exploitation of French colonialism in Indochina has been so successful for the world Communist cause. (Wide World) *Below:* In Indochina as elsewhere in Asia, the critical problem of land ownership often plays into Communist hands. Here during Mao's march to power in China, a peasant guerrilla leader announces the redistribution of land to the landless. (Triangle)

Right: Chinese Communist efforts at rapid industrialization, although achieved at a frightful human cost, have been widely advertised and have made a profound impression elsewhere in Asia. Here, according to the official caption, a factory manager discusses an assembling problem with skilled workers at the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Manchuria. (Eastfoto) *Below:* Railway construction is an essential part of the Communist Chinese Five Year Plan. Here the first engine, bearing the likeness of Mao Tse-tung, arrives at Kwanghan city in 1953. (Eastfoto).

Above: Russian-Chinese solidarity is the theme of this uniformed delegation of Chinese Communists at the "World Youth Peace Festival" in East Berlin. Above the portraits of Stalin and Mao are placards in many languages proclaiming the theme "Peace." (Wide World) *Below:* The Soviet Union, as a part of its world-wide "new look," opened this exhibition in Denmark in 1954. In Copenhagen's largest hall, the Russians displayed new cars, carpets, cameras, textiles, and machinery, and asked for increased trade with Denmark. (Wide World)

Above left: Lenin and Stalin dominate the entrance to the Russian Pavilion at the Leipzig Fair in East Germany, 1955. (Wide World) *Above right.* "Krasnoyarsk factory worker fulfills 16 annual quotas," says the official caption. In this Soviet tool-building shop, the woman inspector draws the 16th star on the flag of a "Stakhanovite" who has surpassed his Five Year Plan target. (Sovfoto) *Below:* On this Soviet collective farm, the quality of grain is controlled by the local official who samples it here. The response of the farmer to official pressure casts doubt over the whole future of Russian and Chinese agriculture. (Wide World)

Above: America, for a generation the world's industrial leader, now pioneers in automation. Here some of the 11 million TV tubes needed for 1955 are processed by an automatic rotary machine at a Syracuse, New York, plant. All the operator at the center needs to do is to load and unload the tubes. (Wide World) *Below:* Can industrialism be combined with social justice? In America an ever-widening sharing of economic benefits has accompanied industrial growth, to confound Marxist predictions of class struggle. Here in 1955 John Bugas, Vice President of the Ford Motor Company, and Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, sign Ford's unprecedented three-year contract accepting the principle of the guaranteed annual wage. (Wide World)

Right: The United States demonstrated her faith in her own anti-colonial tradition by freeing the Philippines on July 4, 1946. Here in ceremonies in Manila, the Stars and Stripes is lowered and the Philippine flag raised in its place. (Wide World) *Below:* Following the U.S. Supreme Court decision that segregated schools are unconstitutional, this Negro teacher talks to one of her white pupils in Washington, D.C. Probably more than any other single event in recent years, the desegregation decision helped restore world confidence that Americans intend to practice the liberal goals they profess. (Wide World)

"In the hearts of the people for whom he saved the union"—among them these Negro Boy Scouts—"the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever." Lincoln's commitment to human decency, tolerance, equal opportunity, and progress is stirring mankind today as people in all continents search for peaceful but steady, democratic growth. Will Lincoln's own Republic reflect his commitment in its relations with other peoples? (Wide

is the pattern that developed in Russia under Lenin, in China under Mao, and to a certain extent in Indochina under Ho Chi Minh.

The first set of conditions does not exist in Africa, and in Asia only in Korea, Indochina, Burma, Turkey, Thailand, Iran, Nepal, and Afghanistan. The two non-Communist nations, which hold the greatest measure of power and potential power, India and Japan, are cut off by difficult mountain or sea barriers.

In regard to the second set of conditions, strong, well-led, indigenous Communist movements are not yet evident in any country except Vietnam. Most Communist leaders in India, the Philippines, Burma, Indonesia and Japan are for the most part little more than revolutionary mechanics whose thinking is dominated by their varied interpretations of the gospel according to Moscow or Peking. That is a principal reason why in 1955 the Indian Communist party seemed to have reached political bankruptcy.

As long as this tight control exists, there is little opportunity for an outstanding leader with a sizable mass base to develop. Neither Lenin nor Mao could have succeeded if he had felt it necessary to follow orders from theoreticians in a foreign capital thousands of miles away.

* * *

ANOTHER obstacle to Communist success may be a developing rivalry between Moscow and Peking for the leadership of the Asian Communist movement. The Russians have the advantage of organization and resources. The Chinese have the advantage of being able to speak as Asians to Asians.

China has an additional advantage in the rural base of her own revolution. Wherever the land is in the hands of the few, wherever rents are high and the moneylenders the most grasping, there are smoldering hatreds that can be powerfully mobilized as Mao proved convincingly in China.

The greatest blunder of the Soviet Union in its leadership of the Communist movement in Asia has been its failure to learn from the Borodin fiasco in China, and its stubborn insistence on basing its efforts on an almost nonexistent city proletariat. It was not until late

in 1949 that the Soviet-dominated and doctrinaire Cominform reluctantly adopted the rural approach of Mao Tse-tung as a model for Asia.

Since Mao's victory in China in 1949, the influence of Peking in Asian Communist affairs has been growing so steadily that by 1955 the organization and direction of the Communist parties in Asia and Africa appeared to be a source of potential conflict. In Moscow the pictures from Bandung of Chou En-lai in earnest conversation with key Arab and African, as well as Asian leaders, must have created a mixed reaction.

But it cannot be said too often that the future of Communism in Asia is less likely to rest on what is decided in Moscow or Peking than on the abilities of the non-Communist nations represented at Bandung to carry out their promises of a complete democratic revolution.

That Communism has little chance in a country which has freed itself of Western colonialism and is moving ahead independently with the reforms and construction of a democratic revolution is evident in the recent history of Burma, which is the very opposite of the experience in Indochina. The future history of Asia and Africa, and thus perhaps of the world, can be read in the contrasting story of these two Southeast Asian nations.

Superficially they have much in common. Each is rich in natural resources, with ample rainfall, good land and rice surplus for export. Neither nation is overcrowded. Burma, larger than France, Belgium and Holland combined, has a population of 19 million. Vietnam, roughly the size of Italy, has 24 million.

The similarities are more than physical. Each of these nations has a long history of colonial occupation. French power was firmly established in Vietnam in the mid-nineteenth century, and the British wiped out what remained of Burmese independence in 1886. During World War II each nation was occupied by the Japanese.

During the war anti-Japanese guerrilla movements developed in both countries with American and British support. Communist leaders were prominent among the guerrillas. When the Japanese were finally driven out, there was in both countries a similar and widespread demand for complete independence.

But here the similarities end. In Vietnam and the two associated states of Cambodia and Laos, the French, as we have seen, hedged

and hesitated, and the result was an exhausting eight-year civil war, a shattering military debacle and the uneasy truce of a divided country.

In 1946, Burma was also on the verge of a civil war with armed opposition to the British. But in 1947, instead of sending more troops to subdue the growing Burmese surge of nationalism, the British wisely recognized the power of the Asian revolution and agreed to a complete withdrawal.

In 1948 the Communists, although disappointed that British withdrawal had deprived them of the "down-with-colonialism" slogan which the French had so conveniently provided in Vietnam, went into open, armed opposition to the wobbly new government. In 1949 they were followed by the Karens, a tough warlike people of eastern Burma who were determined to set up an independent state. By 1951 the fighting had spread throughout Burma, and the future of the free Burmese Republic looked grim indeed.

In that same year the difficulties of the new government were further increased when eight or ten thousand Chinese Nationalist troops, which had been driven by the Communists across the border into Burma's northern Shan provinces, decided to join the general nation-wide melee.

By late 1951 the American Government, sensing the armed weakness of the new government of Burma, had about decided it was doomed. Equally convinced that the government was on its last legs, the Chinese Nationalist Government began to fly in American equipment from Formosa to assist General Li Mi's Nationalist insurgents, and thereby complicated still further the problems of the struggling young republic.

Yet according to reports reaching New Delhi from Peking, the Chinese Communist Government, with a keener sense of the real sources of power in Asia, had at about this same time written off the Burmese Communist revolution as a lost cause. In spite of the apparent weak position of the new Burmese Republic, no Chinese arms or military equipment, as far as is known, were sent to the relief of the Communists in Burma. The Peking Government apparently decided that such interference would enable the free Burmese to claim that the Communist insurgents were being financed by the Chinese and thus awaken old fears of foreign domination.

Gradually Prime Minister U Nu and his associates have suc-

ceeded in establishing the government on a relatively solid basis. By supporting economic and political reforms which were well timed and honest, they cut the ground out from under the Communists.

In 1954 the last major Communist leader to surrender stated plaintively: "U Nu put through the village program which we Communists had been promising the people, and there was no way for us to gain their support."

This story points a mighty moral in contrasting Communist and Western appreciation of the strength of indigenous nationalism in Asia. The Chinese Communists, recognizing the power of nationalist sentiment among the people of Burma and Vietnam, refrained from challenging the popular, free Burmese Government, but confidently supported the Vietnamese national revolt against the French. America, apparently unappreciative of the power of nationalist sentiment, was so pessimistic about Burma's chances for life that we despaired of its future just as it was winning its fight for life.

As late as March, 1955, when I visited the Burmese capital of Rangoon, no American ambassador had been accredited there for nine months. During these years when we were largely ignoring Burma, we were spending nearly $3 billion in a desperate losing effort to shore up a dying French colonial regime next door.

The contrast between Burma and Indochina was undoubtedly very fresh in the minds of the leaders of the nations that met at Bandung. They knew that if their countries, like Burma, moved ahead toward a vigorous democratic development and reform they would have considerably less to fear from Communism.

The shadow over Bandung was not so much Communism as the fear among the non-Communists that they might lack the courage and capacity to meet this challenge. This fear was compounded in part by concern that America and the West, having failed to take to heart the lesson of Mao's victory in China, might now ignore or misinterpret the equally devastating lesson of Vietnam, and the growing crisis of North Africa.

In terms of political and economic aid everyone knew that America's judgment might be decisive in determining whether against all the awful obstacles of poverty, ignorance, disease—and Communism—the democratic way might prevail. As Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, has said, the most funda-

mental competition in Asia is in economic development, between China and free Asia. Democratic development in Asia, he said, had to be speeded up "with almost supersonic speed."

"If the poor countries of Asia are not assisted to their feet by the richer countries of the world with the least possible delay," he continued, "the spectacle and the example of China will be simply disastrous. Democracy will meet its Waterloo in Asia."

But Sir John would no doubt agree that the test is not just how the Atlantic nations respond, but how the Asians and Africans themselves respond. If the leaders of free Asia and Africa, and their colleagues in the West, can respond to the needs and hopes of their peoples, then this hour could turn out to be not democracy's Waterloo but its Valley Forge.

"We have a chance to make good and we must, rapidly," said Prime Minister Nehru in his closing remarks at Bandung. "If we don't, we shall fade away, stumble, and fall, not to rise again for a long time."

The Bandung delegates resolved that there should be a "next meeting" of the Asian-African peoples, to be convened again by the sponsoring powers, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan.

When this next meeting occurs, we can only hope that America will be in closer touch with the fears and aspirations that are shaping this great region of over half the world. "Benevolent indifference" or unfriendly apprehension is hardly a proper American posture, when more than a billion human beings are striving in their own way to march to the battle songs of our Republic.

In opening the conference, President Sukarno cited the American Revolution as the forerunner of the present revolutions in Asia and Africa. For us to understand these twentieth century revolutions we might begin where he did, by trying to understand why the shots at a rude bridge in Concord were heard round the world. To do this we need only shift the scene from Independence Hall, Bandung, to Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

SECTION VI

The Revolution of Jefferson, Wilson and Henry Ford

There are certain words,
Our own and others', we're used to—words we've used,
Heard, had to recite, forgotten . . .

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

To none will we sell, refuse or deny, right or justice.
We hold these truths to be self-evident.

I am merely saying—what if these words pass?
What if they pass and are gone and are no more?

They were bought with belief and passion, at great cost.
They were bought with the bitter and anonymous blood
Of farmers, teachers, shoemakers and fools
Who broke the old rule and the pride of kings.

It took a long time to buy these words.
It took a long time to buy them and much pain.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT

CHAPTER 26

Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death

IN much of Asia, Africa and South America, where more than a billion people are living under nearly intolerable conditions, revolution is a word of hope. We have seen that their revolutionary objectives have at least four dimensions—demand for independence, insistence on human dignity without regard to race, creed or color, rapid economic progress for the benefit of the many as well as for the few, and peaceful conditions under which to live.

These are the very concepts on which America was built. If the day ever comes when they sound strange or radical to the average American, it will be a sad day for human freedom.

That the ideas which powered our own revolution have finally spread out to the whole world is the most significant fact of our time. That the Communists are constantly seeking to take over those concepts and twist them to Communist ends is the greatest tribute that could be paid to their continuing dynamism.

Nehru, U Nu, Magsaysay, Nasser, Nkrumah and Ghulam Mohammed often speak the language of Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson. If their words sometimes sound strange to our ears, it is a measure of our isolation from our own past and from the hard facts of survival with which they and their people are contending.

Speaking at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on July 3, 1955, during his visit to the United States, the Burmese Premier reminded

us that the ideals of the American Revolution are more explosive than "B-52's or even atomic bombs. In all parts of the world where man lives under tyranny, or under foreign domination, or in feudal bondage," U Nu continued, "those who dream and plot and fight for freedom do so in the name of the eternal principles for which your Revolution was fought."

The declarations of independence and the constitutions of colonial nations the world over, often borrow from the great documents of our own history. The declaration of the Indian National Congress in 1930 repeated the very words of Jefferson which the revolutionary American Congress had proclaimed on the first Fourth of July.

"We the people of Burma . . ." says the Burmese Constitution, and these words are echoed in a dozen others: "We the people of India . . ."—"We the Japanese people . . ."—"We the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia . . ."—"We the Filipino people . . ." —"We the people of Korea . . ."—"We the representatives of the people of Libya . . ."

The promise of freedom and a better life which these words introduce surge through the hearts of Asian and African men and women, who in the vortex of their own struggles for independence, have turned naturally and with new and ringing emphasis to the slogans and battle cries of our own history. In 1945 American-armed Dutch soldiers, clanking in their American-built Sherman tanks into Batavia—soon to be renamed Jakarta—to re-establish their colonial power in what they still hopefully called the "Dutch East Indies," found painted on the walls of the city rebel slogans familiar to every American schoolboy: "All men are created free and equal" and "Give me liberty or give me death."

These ideas can be heard returning to America in the insistent pleas of the newly free and the still-subject peoples of Asia and Africa—young now, as we once were—that we stand firm for the ideals that fed our own growth.

Even Stalin knew the power of our words and tried to appropriate them. In the Soviet Constitution of 1936 appears the incredible promise—"Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Press, Freedom of Assembly."

Once reclaimed by their American authors, these words can form a tie between the revolutions "out there" and our own revolutionary past. May we not advance our understanding by taking a fresh look

at that past, by trying to grasp anew the power of the words, thoughts and deeds that have literally been heard round the world?

The American Revolution, we must not forget, was the modern world's first successful revolt of a colony against an imperial power. For half the world, 1776 did not come until the twentieth century, and for many it still constitutes a dream for the future. How ready are we now to hear and accept the ideas which the men in Independence Hall a century and a half ago held to be self-evident?

To secure the unalienable rights of men, we said then, governments are instituted among men, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

"Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends," according to our Declaration of Independence, "it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it. . . ." And to these principles our Founding Fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

"Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men," said the Massachusetts Bill of Rights in 1780. "Therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it."

Nor were the founders of America talking about mere theory. They meant what they said when they said revolution. The consequences of the rights they proclaimed, they knew, might even mean blood and suffering. "Let them take arms," said Thomas Jefferson. "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

On the right of revolution our sixteenth President was as explicit as our third. "This country with its institutions," said Abraham Lincoln, "belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they may exercise their constitutional right to alter it, or their revolutionary right to abolish and overthrow it." This latter right, Lincoln added, "is a most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

The fathers of the American Revolution themselves deliberately

intended that their revolution should arouse subject peoples throughout the world. Benjamin Franklin prescribed his own "Rules By Which A Great Empire May Be Reduced To A Small One." Tom Paine wrote on a drumhead in the light of General Washington's campfires, "From a small spark kindled in America, a flame has arisen not to be extinguished."

The flame was seen abroad and drew men to it like Lafayette from France and Kosciusko from Poland. From 1776 on lovers of freedom came from the old world to share in the birth pangs of the new. The young America welcomed them, claiming to be the homeland of freedom. "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty," said Washington in his first inaugural in 1791, "and the destiny of the Republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Washington's successor, John Adams, echoed him in saying: "I always consider the settlement of America with reverence and wonder, as the opening of a grand scene and design in Providence for the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth."

"I join with you in the hope and belief," said Jefferson in his first year as President, "that the inquiry which has been excited among the mass of mankind by our revolution and its consequences will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe."

In the early years of the Republic, this spirit of our first three Presidents knew no bounds. In his eulogy of Adams and Jefferson, Daniel Webster expressed the ambition of a young continent with a confident ring of world mission. "With America and in America, a new era commences in human affairs," Webster proclaimed. "This era is distinguished by free representative government, by entire religious liberty, by a newly awakened and unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by diffusion of knowledge through the community such as has been before altogether unknown."

"Our country is the world, our countrymen all mankind," echoed Webster's Massachusetts contemporary, Edward Everett. In his famous speech on "Liberty" in 1826, he said: "There is an element of popular strength abroad in the world. Springing into existence on the shores of our own continent, it has grown with our growth and

strengthened with our strength. . . . Formed and nourished by our example, three wonderful revolutions have broken out in a generation." Everett referred to those in France, Greece and South America.

In Europe nervous guardians of the *status quo* recognized and feared America as a force for positive change. Austrian Foreign Minister Metternich complained: "In fostering revolutions wherever they show themselves, in regretting those which have failed, in extending a helping hand to those which seem to prosper [the Americans] lend new strength to the apostles of sedition and reanimate the courage of every conspirator."

To those other revolutions went not only the American Revolutionary appeal, but the American revolutionaries themselves. For many of them America was not a place but a state of mind, an idea. "Where liberty is, there is my country," said Benjamin Franklin. But younger men replied with Tom Paine, "Where is *not* liberty, there is mine."

In this spirit Paine himself went to France, to join the revolution which began there in 1789. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—this was the new trinity proclaimed with the storming of the Bastille. The French Revolution's affinity to the American was nowhere better demonstrated than by the act of the new assembly in voting French citizenship to George Washington and to Tom Paine.

* * *

BUT the French Revolution soon came to resemble the later Russian one, at least in its excesses. Paine was shocked by the execution of Marie Antoinette. Jailed under suspicion by Robespierre, he escaped the blade himself only by accident. Other Americans were repulsed by the militant atheism which rechristened Notre Dame the "Temple of Reason" and which persecuted churchmen for their faith. Disillusion increased after the hardening of the National Convention into dictatorship by guillotine. Eventually the French Revolution was taken over by Napoleon and turned to purposes still more inconsistent with its radical democratic beginnings.

Nevertheless what the American and French revolutions had accomplished, the former in its lasting success and the latter in its

passion, was to give birth to the democratic nation-state. Thus they combined two of the most powerful ideas of the age, democracy and nationalism—ideas which lie at the very heart of the African-Asian revolution championed so fervently at Bandung. Let us examine for a moment the roots of these two forces in Europe.

The nation-state itself is still a young political creation, barely four centuries old. When the French and American revolutions occurred in the eighteenth century, feudalism still prevailed in parts of Western Europe, and estate had not dropped its first syllable to become the state.

But with the growth of industry, the once weak monarchies were finding new support from merchants, tradesmen and artisans, demanding a strong central government to erase the little lines of divided feudal sovereignty, the states within states, the petty tariff walls, the competing taxes. The process of wiping out the manors, monasteries, and fiefs large and small, consumed several centuries of Western history. At its end, the unified nation-state had been born, and the monarch was left face to face with his people.

If the King and the Individual were the only great contestants who began the modern age, it was to be expected that the theory of the Divine Right of Kings should be answered by the Sacred Rights of Man. "I am the state," Louis would say. But two short generations later the answer came back as the French Revolutionary assembly, equating the state with itself, proclaimed, "All sovereignty resides in the nation."

Democracy had been growing in the West for several centuries before it took over the nation-state in 1776 and 1789. In England in 1215 the barons at Runnymede had forced the king to sign the Magna Carta. If the rights won there were limited, the winning of them had had unlimited effects. The charter itself had remained to stimulate the English legal and political imagination for the next seven centuries.

The charter's revolutionary clause had granted to the barons the right of rebellion whenever the king violated the terms of the settlement. Fortunately this did not become as much a part of English tradition as the habit of timely compromise. Quietly, and for the most part peacefully, the English Parliament gradually grew from a committee of the king to become the king's high court, then his chief competitor for power, and finally to rule itself in the king's name.

But Cromwell was one who did invoke the ancient right to revolution when his Puritan Army of God marched against Charles I in 1642, and his methods were not gentle. In 1649 the Russians were so shocked over the beheading of Charles I by the Puritans that they dismissed the English ambassador, just as the British recoiled in horror when the Russians executed their Czar in 1918.

In 1781 the Russians were just as quick to grasp the implications of the American Revolution on Old World politics and the European *status quo*. An Indian historian once chided me on our modern devotion to the established order by comparing us to Czarist Russia, which for thirty-three years after our Revolution refused to recognize the existence of the United States.

It must be said that these early fears of the Russian aristocracy were amply justified. From the centers of democratic liberalism in the West, with America as the most dramatic symbol, the political revolution spread first around the North Atlantic community and South America, and finally in the twentieth century to Asia and Africa.

By the 1850's Garibaldi would be crying to his ragged Italian volunteers assembled before St. Peter's, "I offer neither pay nor quarters nor provisions. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death." By the 1880's Parnell would be telling the Irish that there was only one way to treat an Englishman, "Stand up to him."

Within a hundred and fifty years the ideas and the passions that fired the revolutionaries of Concord, Valley Forge and Philadelphia have been recreated on every continent. In retrospect they clearly amounted to a world-wide revolution.

Some latter-day critics would restrict the American Revolution to the period of its anti-colonial revolt. They imply that its unfolding revolutionary significance for the world, important as it has proved to be, was bounded by the events between Concord Bridge and Yorktown.

But the American Revolution has not been so one dimensional. It grew into a broad, continuing revolution, rarely ceasing to be animated by the dream of a complete, democratic revolution involving the expansion of human rights and opportunities in their broadest sense. We have already noted that a complete democratic revolution has never been fully achieved. But few will deny the

strength of this ideal, or the continuing validity of the claim of those who hold it to be revolutionaries.

Evolutionary in its practice since 1781, American history has continued to be revolutionary in its implications. After winning their independence from foreign rule, Americans went on to upset the *status quo* at home and abroad with, as we shall see, a practical search for ever larger political, economic, and social democracy. When we later found our goals threatened by the calamity of world-wide war, it was not surprising that we should expand our dream to all mankind.

Thus when Gandhi, another proponent of a complete democratic revolution, threw British clothes into a huge bonfire, began his boycott of British goods, and demanded that freedom was his birthright and he would have it, he was initiating for India an experiment which Americans had begun but not ended in their own Boston Tea Party: that good government is no substitute for self-government, and that Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is indeed the last best hope on earth.

CHAPTER 27

From Cotton Gin to Automation

SEVENTEEN-seventy-six, the year America declared her independence, was also the year of another revolutionary event: James Watt's steam engine really worked for the first time. It sparked a sudden amazing momentum in economic development—evolutionary, it is true, but nevertheless known by the middle of the nineteenth century in terms still accepted today, as the Industrial Revolution.

Even before this dramatic introduction to industrialism, the Protestant Puritan morality of thrift and hard work had helped give rise to capitalism. And before that the medieval monastery had introduced scientific agriculture, corporate organization, business accounting and division of labor, with production and group life geared to the regular bells of a clock.

What was it that began at the end of the eighteenth century to so change the techniques of production that men would call it revolution?

Some would say that the new forces created by the gradual growth of commercialism inside the old feudal order finally broke through the feudal strait jacket, emerging as the modern industrial democratic state. Others would give more credit to the intellectual ferment established by the Renaissance and the political freedom which was developing in many parts of the North Atlantic region.

Others would ascribe the West's economic development to the invention of the corporation. Justice Brandeis called the corporation the "master institution of civilized life," and a considerable case can

be made that it was this institution which has been the carrier of modern technology.

The corporation was able to mobilize vast amounts of capital, and to organize workers and technicians. Although the corporation originated in England under the tutelage of John Locke, its greatest flowering was in America. In one year of the nineteenth century it is said that more corporations were created in one state of our Union than in the whole previous history of the world.

Without trying to solve the chicken-egg riddle of which came first, industrialism or democracy, the new technology or the new freedom, we can say with assurance that the combination produced a new civilization, and today its explosive implications are felt in every corner of the world. Something had started a chain reaction that began in London and Lancashire and Liverpool and has since been spreading with geometric progression throughout the Atlantic community and, in our century, beyond it to all mankind.

The new inventions of England in the eighteenth century seemed as magical in that day as atomic energy does in ours, and British lawmakers then were as eager as our own today to keep the new "secret" as England's private preserve. A law was enacted prohibiting taking any machine out of England. Men who knew how to make these machines were forbidden to go abroad.

Parliament had earlier been alarmed by the efforts of Peter the Great, foreshadowing those of his Communist successors in the 1920's and 1930's, to hire Englishmen to teach industrial techniques in Russia. In 1719 Parliament enacted a bill to "prevent the Inconveniences arising from seducing Artificers in the Manufactures of Great Britain, into foreign parts." Undaunted, in 1776 Russia offered Watts a thousand pounds a year, a fabulous salary at the time, if he would come there and build his steam engine.

Until 1824 the law prohibiting the emigration of skilled mechanics remained in force. But by then England realized that she had no real secrets, only a head start, and that the science and technology to which she had committed herself were the common property of all men everywhere who had the will to know.

By this time, too, a fledgling Industrial Revolution was testing its wings in our own country. A nineteen-year-old English lad had smuggled plans for a textile factory out of England, hidden in his clothes, to start the industry here.

Yankee ingenuity, compounded of the old Puritan virtues and the knack for tinkering which was essential for existence in a frontier economy, lent fresh impetus to the spread of the machine. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin provided an adequate source of raw material for the hungry looms and shuttles of England and the New England states. Whitney also laid the foundation for assembly line production when, later on, he demonstrated before astonished officers of the War Department the assembling of twelve rifles from a mass of interchangeable parts produced at his Springfield, Massachusetts, factory.

If Watt or Whitney were to visit the assembly line of one of today's giant American automobile companies, the expressions on their faces might convey to us the revolutionary character of our industrialization. Moving at the rate of perhaps a finished car a minute, the belt brings the completed chassis toward the final stop. Converging at this point from the ceiling on hooks come the fenders, wheels and other parts, timed precisely to fit the right car at the right moment.

From a hole in the floor above a hood descends, of just the prescribed color, landing in time for the car to be driven to the testing ground by a team of men who shuttle back and forth. Along the line, time and motion experts are studying each operation to find new labor corners to cut. Producing about six million cars a year, the American automobile industry has been in the vanguard of this continuing Industrial Revolution, employing every known technique to increase efficiency.

Even in its early nineteenth century beginnings, it was not only in the vastly increased production of goods that the Industrial Revolution showed itself. Canals and macadamized roads were built. Then with the locomotive came the first railroad line from Liverpool to Manchester.

Again America took up the challenge with Fulton's steamboat, the transcontinental railroad, and eventually Henry Ford's tin lizzie. The world was drawn together first by a network of wires and then by the invisible wires of radio. Man learned how to send his ideas around the world without moving from his chair. In the end the Industrial Revolution realized one of man's oldest myths—that he would someday fly.

In the production of energy to transport man and his goods, to

warm himself and light the dark, Watt's engine was put to a myriad of uses. Horsepower became a measure instead of a force, as the water wheel gave way to the coal mine and the energy of the horse was multiplied a millionfold by electricity. Then man discovered the secret of the sun itself, and harnessed atomic energy to human will.

In the hundred and seventy-five years since the start of the Industrial Revolution, the ordinary American family has traveled a road to riches undreamed of by the mightiest a few centuries ago.

* * *

If the process of industrialization had exceeded the dreams of those who contributed to it, it had also exacted a high price in human suffering. To accumulate the vast sums of capital needed to mechanize a feudal society, at a time when little commercial capital existed, required primarily cheap human labor and forced savings.

The skilled workmen of the English medieval guilds thrown out of work by the new machines, and the English peasants dispossessed of their small plots of land by the Enclosure Acts and the modernization of agriculture, were offered jobs in the new mills at pittance wages or left to starve. A working day went from sunup to sundown.

It is of course debatable whether the Industrial Revolution actually lowered the living standards of working people, for the poor were badly enough off before in eighteenth century England. Probably the introduction of machinery improved life for some, and worsened it for others.

Nevertheless it is certain that much of the price that *was* paid for Western industrialization was paid by women and children. Under England's Poor Relief laws, the parishes were empowered to "apprentice" the children of parents on relief. Factory owners made full use of this new source of labor, even carting away children five or six years old to work for twelve or more hours a day and then to be locked in workhouses. Some parishes stipulated the proportion of idiot children an employer was required to accept.

Often the midday meal had to be eaten while working, and machinery had to be cleaned while in motion. In the winter when the

children left the mills, bathed in sweat, their clothes sometimes froze to their bodies. The documented toll in accidents, deformity, tuberculosis and utter degradation stands as a memorial to the generations who gave birth to industrial civilization, and as a warning to new countries about to go through its birth pangs.

The price was not all paid by the suffering of Europeans, however. England's colonies supplied her with their raw materials on the cheapest possible terms, produced by labor exploited even more severely than in England, and then served as a captive market for the manufactured goods. America rebelled against such terms of trade and won her freedom in 1776, but India was forced to succumb.

Moreover, India supplied a direct source of capital in the form of "loot," a Hindustani word introduced into English at the time of the plundering of Bengal. After Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757, the treasure of Bengal began to flow in to London, adding considerably to the nation's cash capital at just the time the first great industrial inventions were appearing. The men who made great fortunes in India provided much of the corporate investment which turned the inventions of this era into factories.

America did not depend on foreign colonies, but America had a virgin continent to exploit. Our raw materials lay westward and free for the taking, except for what was callously assumed to be the problem of dispersing or containing the Indians. America also had its own kind of exploited colonial population, the slaves in the South, upon which one major sector of our economy depended.

British investors supplied some of our crucial capital requirements through massive loans, particularly for railroad building, a basic step in our economic development. Moreover, America had all of Europe to turn to for cheap new labor. It came in plentiful supply.

Often when immigrant workmen arrived, they found factory conditions here only slightly better than those of the old country. In our Connecticut cotton industry in 1831 men were earning $5.00 a week, women $2.50, and children $1.50. Eleven years later a Connecticut law forbade the employment in textile mills of anyone under fourteen years of age for more than ten hours a day. The fact that this was a landmark of liberal legislation in its time suggests what conditions prior to this law must have been.

Connecticut history also shows that even America occasionally

benefited directly by the English imperial connection in India. In 1717 Elihu Yale, former governor of Madras, one of the earliest English outposts in India, sent a shipload of East India goods to Boston, which were sold on auction for £562. Mr. Yale donated the proceeds as the first endowment of the new college in Connecticut, which later gratefully took his name.

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BUT America was endowed by nature with more than colonies could have given. Never has industrialization had a better opportunity: A rich, underdeveloped continent. A hard-working, pioneer people. A flood of invaluable immigrants, some with the latest skills, some with the cheapest labor. A federal union which created a single great free-trade, common-money area. A democratic political society which permitted free association, free enterprise, and the formation of business corporations with the constitutional rights of persons.

Probably with less agony than any other country which has undergone industrialization, America thus became the world's foremost industrial nation.

Industrial pre-eminence today, however, assures no more exclusive use or control of dramatic new inventions than when Britain attempted to hide her "secrets" in the eighteenth century. America's staggering achievement in unlocking the atom, accomplished in great part under the urging and by the skill of eminent foreign-born scientists like Einstein, Szilard, and Fermi, can never be isolated or saved for American benefit alone.

By 1955 American atomic scientists were frankly saying that we have no secrets from European scientists. Like the British in the Industrial Revolution, all we have is an advantage in know-how and technique—a head start. Indeed there is more than a possibility that from now on we may lag in industrial atomic development behind others like the British and the Japanese. They have an urgent, special incentive for the rapid utilization of atomic energy if they are to maintain their own relative industrial position. For them nuclear power may be the essential long-term substitute for their coal and water-power sources of energy which are already proving inadequate.

Under such circumstances the economic waste and unnecessary delays caused in the development of nuclear power in friendly Europe make our past restrictive policies seem particularly unimaginative—so much so that American atomic scientists have advocated that we should declassify the entire field of nuclear power now. In August, 1955, at the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy the partial easing of our restrictions was widely applauded.

What makes this new American Industrial Revolution so awesome, however, is that it has scarcely begun to run its course. Just as the full impact of two centuries of Western industrialization is being realized in the promise of atomic energy, a new technological revolution called automation is also beginning to appear. Machines had become the servants of men in many ways, spinning thread, weaving cloth, hewing wood, pumping water, pulling loads, tilling soil, harvesting crops—doing the things men until then had always done by themselves by the sweat of their brows. But in the mid-twentieth century, automatic factories entered the realm of the possible.

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, described the awe he felt when he first visited one of these strange new plants which he says represent the Second Industrial Revolution. He watched the great machine bore cylinders in a matter of seconds, electronically measure its work, reject those that for some reason were wrong. About all the few workers had to do was watch the panels of red, yellow and green lights that indicated if the machine was getting tired.

A Ford executive asked: "How are you going to get them to pay your dues?" Reuther replied, "How are you going to get them to buy your cars?" But for all their doubts, no labor leaders today were ready to fight the machines as displaced working men once did. Instead they have confidence that a way will be found for the new benefits of science and technology to be made available, not simply to the fortunate world aristocracy of the West, but for all mankind.

This confidence itself has its roots in the continuing American Revolution. For the fact is that in the last generation man has learned to use the tools of democracy to master the machine which many once feared would become the master of men. Powerful and extraordinary as the Industrial Revolution has been, human needs, interests and principles have, in the main, also triumphed in a democratic American Revolution for equality of opportunity.

CHAPTER 28

All Men Are Created Equal

LIBERTY, meaning political independence, was the first battle cry of the American Revolution, just as it is the first demand of the people of Asia and Africa today. Pushed by the forces of industrialism, the demand for human dignity, for equal opportunity regardless of race, creed or color, was soon to follow.

The conservative Alexander Hamilton had told the Constitutional Convention: "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. . . . Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second."

Thomas Jefferson later countered: "Men are naturally divided into two parties. (1) Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. (2) Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depositary of the public interest."

Thus, at the very beginning, these two great antagonists staked out the lines for the first battle in America's continuing effort to give meaning to its Declaration that "all men are created free and equal" —the battle over the vote.

As has always happened since in our form of government, these two ideas became important elements in the practical, down-to-earth organization of political parties for electing candidates to office.

Thus the Federalists, led by Hamilton and Adams, represented principally the Northern business interests who believed in a strong central government and rapid industrialization. Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans drew their strength from the small farmers and artisans as well as the Southern planters.

Distrusting the central government and staking its faith on the ability of people to manage their affairs in their local communities and states, Jefferson's party won a smashing electoral victory in 1800. Universal white male suffrage was established in the next few decades; the limitation to whites was erased in the Civil War; female suffrage eventually came early in the twentieth century.

As in the case of political independence from foreign rule the worldwide implications of the struggle for individual rights was grasped by many American leaders. "All eyes are opening to the rights of Man," Jefferson prophesied two weeks before his death. "The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God."

Nothing gave more promise of this continuing extension of political power to the whole people than did Andrew Jackson's election as President in 1828. To Jefferson's democratic coalition, Jackson added the new frontiersmen of the West and the workers of the Eastern cities. On his inauguration day his followers by the tens of thousands descended upon Washington, some of them ragged, many of them uncouth, very few of them rich and well born.

They drank, they took over the White House, they cheered for their favorite who was now the President. "The reign of King 'Mob' seemed triumphant," noted Justice Story. "They were his blood relations," said Martin Van Buren referring to Jackson, "—the only blood relations he had."

Schlesinger's excellent book on this period, *The Age of Jackson* recounts too well for repetition Jackson's great war against the commercial interests behind the United States Bank. Old Hickory vetoed a new charter for the bank, saying that when a law undertakes "to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers —who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors

to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government."

Nearly one hundred years later Franklin Roosevelt remarked about Jackson, "An overwhelming proportion of the material power of the Nation was against him. It seemed sometimes that all were against him—all but the people of the United States."

The head of the United States Bank, Nicholas Biddle, said that Jackson's veto message was a manifesto "such as Marat or Robespierre might have issued to the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine." Jackson replied that he stood for no narrow class interest. The farmers and workers he stood for, he said, "form the great body of the people of the United States: they are the bone and sinew of the country."

Progress was not in a straight line, of course. The moral decay of slavery, at odds with all America stood for, ate steadily into the vitality of the Union. Jefferson had brooded over it. "I tremble for my country," he wrote about slavery, "when I reflect that God is just and His justice cannot sleep forever."

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WHETHER or not it was the wrath of an avenging God, the blood and suffering of the Negro slaves, which in one form or another had been accepted by almost all Americans, North and South, was paid for in the blood and suffering of Americans, North and South. The Civil War proved slavery to be the single question in America's history that was incapable of resolution within the constitutional framework erected by the Founding Fathers.

A new party, the Republican party, organized to battle against this great challenge to America's democratic ideal. In the end the slaves were freed, and that party gave to America, in Abraham Lincoln, the closest personal embodiment of the American ideal.

The Republican party gave us too, in the stately clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, a new affirmation of the old ideal of equality, worthy to stand beside the words of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life,

liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

By applying these precepts, at the staggering cost of a Civil War, America had strengthened its determination to go on testing "whether any nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, can long endure."

Further tests were not long in coming. Soon it became apparent that man's right to freedom must include the right to work and the right to personal achievement commensurate with ability. As the arena of struggle shifted from political rights to economic opportunity, the political rights already won proved a potent weapon. With the vote, the people in every state established a system of free public education, the greatest program against inequality of opportunity ever designed. Throughout most of the country children went in the same doors, were seated not by origin but by alphabet, and succeeded by their own efforts.

The other solvent of injustice was the frontier, to which industrious and pioneering Americans could always turn during the nineteenth century. Andrew Johnson, a Jacksonian Democratic Congressman who became a persecuted Republican President, introduced in 1846 a Homestead Bill to open the federally held lands of the West to settlement on family-sized farms.

Under this bill as finally passed, 285 million acres were distributed. For the next fifty years, any American family, when opportunity lagged in the cities, was free to carve out a new life on a farm of its own at little cost beyond its own labor and perseverance.

Thus in the frontier and public education the American people were given a combined alternative to the class struggle which Marx did not foresee. The city worker, denied a fair wage in the factory, could create a full and expanding life in the West. And the very existence of this alternative gradually aided the growth of industrial democracy for workers who remained in the cities. The vote, won and used by all the people, made possible the extension to all the people of the benefits of the new science and technology of their Industrial Revolution.

In other Western lands the same battle for the extension of the suffrage to all the people was fought, and in time won. In England, during the 1840's, the "People's Charter," demanding equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, no property qualifications, and annual Parli-

aments, was signed by more than three million people, and supported by massive public demonstrations never before seen on such a scale.

Even Karl Marx, who was already turning to his theory of violent revolution, was momentarily swept into the growing enthusiasm for the possibilities of peaceful democratic action. The moment the people of England carried their Charter, he said in 1847, "the road to liberty will be opened to the world." In words which believers in democracy would later throw back at Communists, Marx said fervently of the Charter and universal suffrage: "Effect this grand object, you workmen of England, and you will be hailed as the saviors of the whole human race." But the Charter did not carry immediately, and Marx returned to the Continent to write the *Communist Manifesto,* convinced that peaceful action was doomed to frustration.

Marx was correct that the Industrial Revolution presented a new crisis in human affairs, but he was wrong in largely abandoning hope that it could be met by the democratic process. For within twenty years the substance of universal franchise had been achieved in Britain as it was being achieved in America, by the very methods which Marx had in his impatience discarded. By the end of the nineteenth century, Socialist parties in Europe and America were finding their platforms taken out from under them by liberal and even conservative governments—an indirect tribute to the position of the Democratic Socialists, even though it sometimes, as in America, left them with little to do.

* * *

THIS relationship of Democratic Socialism to the main stream of the Marxian tradition is highly important to an understanding of world affairs even today. Indeed it is so important that even before we conclude the related story of America's considerable achievement of equality of opportunity, I feel it warrants a digression and further comment.

That "Democratic Socialism" and "Marxism" mean different things to different people is clear enough at the outset. The Kremlin trumpets its own achievements as the sole fulfillment of Marxism and Socialism. Some prominent, but poorly informed, American poli-

ticians echo part of this sentiment by proclaiming that Socialism and Communism are "two peas from the same pod."

The highly respected dean of American Socialists, Norman Thomas, replies that not only is Communism "certainly a betrayal of true Socialism" but that Communism is also a "subversion of true Marxism." Communism and Democratic Socialism may be from the same Marxist pod, but they are very different now, and the difference is in kind, not in degree.

The difference goes back centuries before Marx was born. Socialists through the ages have been divided by basically different attitudes toward the state, and toward the methods appropriate for the attainment of their goals. Their oldest maxim—"From each according to his capacity; to each according to his need"—stems not from Marx, but from the Bible and from Greek philosophy.

But ideas about whether it is to be achieved by force or by persuasion, by democratic and peaceful action or by violent revolution and proletarian dictatorship, have been affected by the society in question, by the leadership which evolved from it, and by the philosophy of the particular Socialist.

Out of the economic misery which enveloped much of sixteenth century England, the great Catholic statesman, Sir Thomas More, wrote his *Utopia.* He described an ideal community, and called for a division of labor and distribution of goods in terms which many sober citizens today would describe as alarmingly Communistic. But he did not advocate violent revolution to attain it.

Much of pre-Marxist "Socialism" was indeed inspired and written in a religious, often metaphysical atmosphere. Hence Norman Thomas was the heir of a lengthy tradition when he made his pilgrimage from the pulpit of New York's Brick Presbyterian Church into the American Socialist Party.

The public career of this six-time candidate for the presidency has been so far from conspiratorial and subversive that editorial comment on his seventieth birthday indicated that Norman Thomas is widely regarded as one of the foremost keepers of the American national conscience, just as he was one of the earliest and most militant anti-Communists.

Western Socialists, especially those who adhere to Marx minus violence, differ sharply on the practical problems of Socialism. For

a professed Marxist to devise a working program for Socialism in democratic countries like Sweden, India, Burma, Great Britain or the United States, he must consciously or unconsciously read a great deal into Marx which has little or no logical connection with Marxism.

It was in America, of course, where history most clearly proved Marx's prediction of class struggle to be fallacious. Here the combination of free political institutions, an expanding economy, an ever widening diffusion of wealth, and an absence of rigid class lines have given the idea of an armed proletarian revolution a faintly absurd aroma.

During the past century of gradual reforms this progress was not always as clear, of course, as it is today. Thus the speeches of the fire-eating American Socialists of two generations ago would sound less quixotic now if we remembered that as late as 1900 an American tycoon was able legally to tuck away $25 million in a single year on which he paid not one cent of income tax.

But in America today the change has been recognized on all sides. "The idea of a great struggle between the workers and the capitalists made sense in the time of Eugene Debs, but not now," Norman Thomas has said. "What goes on under the Laborites in Britain and under so-called capitalist parties in America differs only in degree. We have gone through an unadmitted revolution."

Several years ago when I was called upon to introduce Norman Thomas to a Public Forum meeting of our Congregational Church in Essex, Connecticut, I pointed out that of the fourteen planks in the Socialist platform on which he first ran for President, only one—national ownership of the banks—had not been enacted into laws which now have the support of both major political parties. The direct election of Senators, an income tax, social security, the eight-hour day, and other one-time "radical" Socialist demands have long since became respectable.

It probably can also be said that one of the main postwar defenses of Western Europe and South Asia against Communism has been found in Democratic Socialism, both directly and through its profound influence on conservative parties generally. Recent experiences have inclined Democratic Socialists to emphasize the democratic processes, to stress voluntary co-operative enterprises at least as much

as public ownership, and to warn against excessive statism as an expression of Socialism.

"The Good Society," says Norman Thomas, "will be achieved by a process each stage of which must bring blessing to those who live in that era. It will not be achieved in America by the violence commonly associated with the word, revolution. Systematic violence in our modern complex civilization wherein the weapons of violence are so deadly and indiscriminate in their effects, will defile and cripple by its very nature the kind of society which allegedly it may seek."

As we have seen in New Delhi and Bandung, most of the leaders of the new democratic nations of South Asia fully accept this thesis of peaceful and Democratic Socialism. Burma has a Socialist government and the policies of India, Ceylon, and Indonesia are deeply affected by the concepts of Democratic Socialism. Spokesmen for the new governments of Pakistan and Egypt have referred to their countries as examples of "Islamic Socialism."

Indeed not only is "socialism" a thoroughly popular word in Africa, Asia and South America, but most articulate indigenous people in these continents approve of Socialism and try to talk and be Socialist. If America is to make its point that progress must be peaceful and democratic, it must not insist that there is no distinction between Socialism and Communism. Instead it must stress the distinction: that democracy is the way to achieve the ideals which many millions of non-Communists throughout the world associate with Socialism.

Having said this, it is appropriate to turn once more to the story of the development of equality and human dignity in America, probably history's single most effective answer to the Marxian concept of violent class struggle.

* * *

THE growing power of American corporations in the first decades of the nineteenth century gave rise to labor unions and started the process of the gradual unfolding of economic democracy.

In 1840 an eighty-hour week was common in textile factories,

when the Democratic administration introduced the ten-hour day for Federal workers. In 1868 the Federal Government again took the lead under the postwar Republican administration by instituting the revolutionary eight-hour day, which in 1890 Engels in a new introduction to the *Communist Manifesto,* announced as the one great immediate aim of the Communists. In 1900 the American unions had not yet achieved a ten-hour day in industry generally, but they were on their way.

An even more powerful immediate challenge to the monopolies came from Populism, a new political movement of farmers and small traders which rose out of the Western prairies to grapple with the Eastern business combines. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act came onto the books in 1890 and has remained ever since, a charter of business freedom.

The force of the new liberalism was felt in the Republican party itself, as Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette and other Progressives resolved that the free enterprise system required the destruction or regulation of monopolies and giant combines. These twentieth century Progressive Republicans had not forgotten the maxim of Lincoln that "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves in their separate and individual capacities."

In 1912, Teddy Roosevelt, alarmed over the drift toward conservatism, led his Bull Moosers in revolt out of the Republican convention, and a revitalized Democratic party took up the torch. The same Populist clamor that had produced William Jennings Bryan had welded a powerful new political combination out of immigrants and workers in the cities, and small farmers of the South and West. When the Republicans split, Bryan's successor Woodrow Wilson was ready with a concrete program, the New Freedom, which asserted that the democratic political rights of Americans could and should be boldly exercised to insure their economic welfare.

Wilson made an impressive start by strengthening the antitrust laws, stabilizing credit with the Federal Reserve Act, and putting into effect the master instrument of democratic development—the progressive income tax which had been adopted by a Republican Congress in 1909. But in 1917 Wilson's domestic program was

brushed aside in the crisis of World War I, and seemed all but forgotten in the orgy of "normalcy" that followed in the 1920's.

The reckoning, however, could not be delayed forever. When the Great Depression of 1929–33 brought the economy almost to a halt and threw fourteen million men out of work, the question was raised whether the promise of America was to be honored in its performance. A few despaired and jumped from high buildings. A larger number, but still only a few, believing that America had come to the end of the road in its effort to work out the problems of equality through the exercise of liberty, turned toward Marx's counsel of violent class struggle. But the deep commitment of the American people to democratic ways of dealing with their problems soon asserted itself.

Once again a man and a political instrument arose to call the people back to their historic faith. Graphically and sympathetically demonstrating how far America had defaulted on its obligation to provide equality of opportunity for the third of the nation's ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad, Franklin Roosevelt mobilized not only the resources of the government but the enthusiasm of the people for a new assault.

The New Deal was an inevitable way station along the road upon which America had set its feet 150 years earlier in Independence Hall. For though Roosevelt and his supporters began by trying to fight a depression, they soon found that the Great Depression could not be ended, or a relapse prevented, without a thorough-going social change.

"Since the beginning of our American history," said Roosevelt later on, "we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch."

In the spirit of America's continuing peaceful revolution, the government took steps to add these economic rights to the political Bill of Rights:

> The right of farmers and workers to adequate pay for honest work;
> The right to look forward to an old age free from want;
> The right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing, and to use these unions to better their lot;

The right to a decent place to live;
The right to a fair share in the benefits of the nation's resources.

This first national "war on want" including emergency relief, public works, TVA, the Securities and Exchange Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act, and a farm program to put a floor under farm income.

In one major sense the New Deal fell short of its objective—the full employment of all of our people. In 1939 there were still eight million out of work. It took World War II to teach us that the wartime full production and good jobs for all might be readily obtainable in peacetime too if government and business showed the necessary leadership and if the people had the necessary will.

The universal military service of American men of all ranks and the GI Bill of Rights, which provided higher education for millions of Americans who might not have afforded it—these all worked to establish a new kind of mixed economy and something close to a classless society.

In pointing to this remarkable record we must, however, face the fact that not since 1929 have we employed all of our people without war, the need for fulfilling the backlogs of civilian production left by war, or massive defense programs. This does not suggest that full production and peace are mutually exclusive. If in the coming years the Soviet Union convinces us that it will actually accept a tamperproof disarmament program including inspection, it would be folly indeed for America to draw back because of domestic economic pressures. The schools, the highways and the hospitals are waiting to be built; our lingering slums are waiting to be demolished, our cities need to be modernized; the frontiers for American production at home and abroad are still without limit.

* * *

EVEN inside the private corporations, something has been happening which would have surprised Marx and which gives our economy added dynamism. Capitalist development, it is true, has led to several hundred giant corporations controlling the dominant section of the economy of America and the whole of the West.

Some of the billion-dollar corporations possessed greater financial resources than many states of our Union.

However, Marxian predictions on the implications of this development have failed to materialize. Somewhere the dialectic of corporate development took an unexpected turn. Perhaps it was when Henry Ford announced the eight-hour day, and decided that the mass consumption necessary for mass production required lower prices and higher wages. Or perhaps it was when General Motors signed the first contract with the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

Most corporate boards now weigh the stockholder's interests along with others including the good of the corporation as a going concern and the good of its workers. In 1954 when business started to sag, one major corporation promptly announced a vast multibillion-dollar expansion program as an investment in the common good. Some of the major corporations now vote large appropriations for the support of American colleges and for university research.

One of the most surprising developments of our continuing American Revolution is that workers have moved toward "ownership of the means of production" not through the instrument of an all-powerful state, but through the purchase of large blocs of corporate shares by union pension and welfare funds, established since the war. And the labor contract, once a one-sided affair dictated by the "boss," is now in most industries the result of a bargaining process by no means one-sided. The beginning of the guaranteed annual wage, agreed to by Ford and General Motors in 1955, is another sign of the times.

America and the West have not, of course, solved their economic problems. Automation will raise many new ones. Depression is still a potential threat, slums still exist, and in spite of great gains promised by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the economic effects of racial discrimination are still with us.

But one thing is clear: the American people have learned that this production of plenty represents not disaster but opportunity for us and for the world. There is no reason to believe that our political institutions will not be flexible enough to handle whatever economic and social problems may arise. Although the gap between our principles and our performance remains, it has steadily narrowed, and

we have probably come closer toward achieving social and economic justice than any past civilization.

Marx was right that the new technology of capitalism could not be contained within the old system of human exploitation. But he was profoundly wrong in believing that mass purchasing power and an economy geared to the general welfare were impossible through peaceful and democratic methods.

America, the progenitor of political freedom in 1776, the world-wide example of industrialism in 1955, has succeeded in reconciling the potential opposition of these two great forces, through manifold forms of practical compromise.

CHAPTER 29

America Experiments with Empire

FOR Americans the end of the Western frontier probably marked more of a crisis than they realized at the time. For several generations Oregon and California had been eternal destinations. Once they had been attained, settled and admitted to the Union, Americans began to feel restless and contained.

In the twentieth century for the first time a generation of Americans went by without adding a new star to the flag. Where did Manifest Destiny go now? The Pacific Ocean faced America with the fact that the edge of the continent had been reached just at the moment when America's industrial power was expanding at a rate never known before.

With the Spanish-American War of 1898 America came of age. Its continental saga over, its era of world power began. American support of the Cuban rebellion against Spanish rule was natural for a neighboring people conscious of their own revolutionary past. Yet an unexpected result of the war was the substitution of American imperial rule for Spanish rule over the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico. In the irony of this transition from an anticolonial tradition to imperial power, is found one of the twentieth century dilemmas of American policy.

The reading of history makes it appear that the temptation toward imperialism is almost an original sin for people with power.

Even in America's most revolutionary moments, even while supporting South American rebellions against foreign rule, or sending aid to faraway Greek rebels, Americans at home were handling their relations with the great domestic Indian tribes in a frankly imperialistic manner. For most of three centuries after the landing at Jamestown, white Americans systematically and ruthlessly uprooted the original Indian inhabitants. Those who survived were forced into guarded reservations. In the haste of new Americans to sweep westward, the rights of the original Americans were frequently ignored.

Similarly, in the days of our boisterous youth as an independent nation, we did not hesitate to develop some soldierly quick-shooting habits in dealing with our neighbors to the North and South. In 1812 Henry Clay and his War Hawks blandly stated their determination to annex Canada. Within a few years General Andrew Jackson was foraging in Spanish-held Florida.

A generation later when our ambitions had turned beyond the Mississippi, we did not hesitate to wrest the great Southwest from Mexico through war in 1846 nor to stake out an ambitious claim against Britain for part of Canada with the popular slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight."

The question of historical proportions was whether on our prodigal return to the world from isolation, we would emerge in our imperial or our democratic revolutionary character. That was why our actions in the Spanish-American War and our debates about those actions should be recalled and reviewed as we enter ever closer relations with anticolonial peoples.

"The truth is I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us as a gift from the gods, I did not know what to do about them," President McKinley later explained in telling how he made his decision.

"One night late," he said, "it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and

uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep and slept soundly."

Other Americans did not sleep as soundly as the President. When the Senate took up the question of ratifying the Treaty of Paris, which concluded the war with Spain, there were many who reaffirmed American revolutionary ideals with great eloquence.

The opposing arguments which rang through the halls of Congress at the turn of the century were championed by two of the most powerful Republican Senators of the day. One of them was George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts, a leader in the Senate for twenty-seven years, whose daughter married my uncle Samuel Bowles of Springfield. The other was Albert Beveridge of Indiana. It was a debate worth our consideration in some detail, because its issues are still pressing in upon us today, and because the vigor with which President McKinley was opposed reflects the strength of our anti-colonial traditions.

Before the Senate in January, 1899, Senator Hoar, leading the fight against annexation, charged that the forcible appropriation of island territories was clearly contrary to the Declaration of Independence.

In language that Jefferson and Lincoln would have applauded, he posed the fundamental question: "Is it true all men are created equal? Or is it only true of some of them? Is it true that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights? Or is it only true of some of them? Is it true that among those rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Or are those for some of them only? Is it true that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed? Or is it only from the consent of some of them?"

The Massachusetts Senator answered his own questions emphatically: "When you raise the flag over the Philippine Islands as an emblem of dominion and acquisition, you take it down from Independence Hall."

Senator Beveridge's rejoinder was frank: "The Declaration of Independence . . . was written by self-governing men for self-governing men. . . . It applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very

elect of self-governing peoples to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas?"

Hoar replied by reminding Beveridge of Lincoln's great speech on the Declaration, in which the martyred President had warned of the future possibility that "some men, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Lincoln had advised his fellow Americans to "look up again to the Declaration of Independence and . . . return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution."

Senator Hoar then concluded: "The doctrines I stand upon are the doctrines of the most practical statesmen, of the most practical generation that ever lived on the face of the earth. Abraham Lincoln said, 'No man was ever created good enough to own another.' No nation was ever created good enough to own another. I do not agree that the lesson of our first hundred years is that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are a failure, and that America is to begin the twentieth century where Spain began the sixteenth."

But Senator Beveridge retorted with at least one thrust which made the opposition wince. "You who say the Declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian? And if you deny it to the Indian at home, how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

"Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people," Beveridge exclaimed in language that sounded like an American echo of Rudyard Kipling. "Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, His providence was above us. . . . His power directed Dewey in the East, and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands on the eve of Liberty's natal day.

"His great purposes are revealed in the progress of the flag, which surpasses the intentions of congresses and cabinets, and leads us like a holier pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night into situations unforeseen by finite wisdom. . . . We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner."

* * *

As the historic controversy merged into the election campaign of 1900, Beveridge announced, "Where the flag leads, we follow—for we know the hand that bears it onward is the Unseen Hand of God." But this time his arguments in favor of an American imperialism were met by a presidential candidate.

"We have reached another crisis," declared William Jennings Bryan, who wished to make imperialism the key issue of the campaign. "The ancient doctrine of imperialism, banished from our land more than a century ago, has recrossed the Atlantic and challenged democracy to mortal combat upon American soil. . . . Are [the American people] now willing to apologize for the war of the Revolution and force upon the Filipinos the same system of government against which the colonists protested with fire and sword?

"Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire," Bryan warned, "must consider, not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos, but they must also calculate its effect upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here."

But ambition, pride and the "smell of empire" prevailed in our final decision in 1900. A motion to promise the Filipinos ultimate independence resulted in a tie, which was broken by the negative vote of the Vice President. The day before, the Filipinos had launched a new revolution against their latest imperial masters, and the news was thought to have resulted in the last-minute switch of several Senators.

During succeeding decades there were other sporadic instances of American imperialism. The Marines were occasionally used as an instrument of foreign policy in Mexico and Central America.

In 1911 Theodore Roosevelt, who prided himself on speaking softly and carrying a big stick, spoke loudly about the way he had carried it at the time of the Panamanian revolution against Colombia, a revolution which had his enthusiastic concurrence and which opened the way for our building of the Panama Canal. "I took the Canal Zone," he said, "and let Congress debate."

Yet even in the heyday of our flirtation with imperialism, the opponents of such practices continued to remind their countrymen of the American revolutionary tradition, and to oppose every policy

which departed from that tradition. As in England, where the growth of a democratic conscience brought about drastic reforms in India and led to sympathy for Indian freedom, so in America the idea of complete independence for the Philippines steadily gained ground. In 1934 Congress formally promised the Philippines such independence, and on July 4, 1946, that promise was fulfilled.

In Puerto Rico, full self-government for island affairs has been granted under the new Commonwealth relationship, although foreign policy and defense remain in American hands. The island itself by a free vote chose this ambiguous relationship in order not to lose the benefits of its American association.

The imperial answer had gone against the American tradition and within a generation America's experiment with it had largely run its course.

CHAPTER 30

Wilson Expands the American Dream

THE real test of America's world intentions came not during its first preliminary encounter with Asia after the Spanish-American War, but during and after World War I, when in full force America returned to Europe, the war-torn center of Western civilization. Just as America quietly shifted from a debtor to a creditor nation during that war, so the fact of American industrial and military might marked a continental shift of power, from the Old World to the New.

How America met her new test of world leadership on the morning of her return to world affairs is of great relevance to what is now happening when America's world power is at high noon.

Woodrow Wilson, moved by the same mystic cords of memory which led Lincoln to see the principles of the Declaration and the Federal Constitution as the last best hope on earth, called Americans back to the great vision without which this free people would perish.

"America was created to unite mankind," Wilson believed. But if, as he thought, the time had come for America to begin to fulfill this mission, if the oceans were no longer limits but invitations to America's return to the world which had created her, neither straight imperialism nor an imperial balance of power was the American way.

"Humanity," he said, "can be welded together only by love, by

sympathy, by justice. America should understand this because
was "the only country in the world which has experienced a con
and repeated rebirth."

To a meeting of naturalized citizens in Philadelphia in 191
elaborated this point: "Other countries depend upon the multip
tion of their own native people. This country is constantly drin
strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with
great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women. And s
the gift of the free will of independent people, it is constantly b
renewed from generation to generation by the same process by w
it was originally created."

The President may have had in mind the inscription which E
Lazarus had written for the Statue of Liberty in New York harb

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

To such new citizens Wilson's "urgent advice" was for them
only to think of America but, in order to be truly Amer
"always, also, to think first of humanity."

Wilson expressed his distress over his country's lapses into
quest. "If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambiti
he said, "they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a n
and we have put them aside. America has a great cause whi
not confined to the American continent. America will have
gotten her traditions whenever on any occasion she fights merel
herself under such circumstances as will show that she has forg
to fight for all mankind."

In similar vein the President told the graduating class at An
olis that "the idea of America is to serve humanity, and every
you loose the stars-and-stripes to the wind, you ought to re
that it is in itself a message that you are on an errand which
navies sometimes have forgotten—not an errand of conquest b
errand of service."

President Wilson's revival of the American spirit was all the
dramatic, because it came at a time when the navies, armies

statesmen of the other powers were engulfed in a fierce struggle for power. From the murder of an Austrian archduke by a Serbian fanatic, a chain reaction had surged through the intricate alliances comprising the European balance of power. More than eight and a half million dead, more than twenty-one million wounded, Northern France, the Lowlands and much of Eastern Europe in ruins—this had been the memorial.

There was every reason for people to be cynical. A grim readiness to defend one's homeland and hatred for the enemy were qualities any war could generate. To reasonable men, however, a world war of these new dimensions was intolerable without some far greater purpose.

Wilson eloquently provided the greater purpose which men so desperately required. It must be a war to end wars, he said. "The world must be made safe for democracy." Wilson's wartime leadership and his struggle for the League of Nations came to symbolize the worldwide appeal of American revolutionary principles. It also marked America's first major encounter with world diplomacy.

In a world ridden by imperialism and oppression in all its various forms, the words Wilson used when he asked Congress for a declaration of war on April 2, 1917, were electrifying. "We have no selfish needs to serve. We desire no conquest, no domination. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war. . . . But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Not only did the American people respond to this appeal with fervor, but a wave of new enthusiasm swept the Old World. Wilson's words became a spectacular moral offensive, and in the minds of millions of people they transformed the war into a worldwide democratic crusade for human rights. American soldiers found shrines to

their President in French peasant huts. Eager students meeting one another on the streets of Warsaw spoke almost reverently the magic word, "Wilson." Collections of his speeches became best-sellers in China and the Middle East and textbooks in Spain.

Wilson fought to make the Allied war aims clear. Although his Fourteen Points ran counter to much of what the European statesmen had in mind, they aroused such universal enthusiasm that few dared criticize them in public. His explosive democratic ideas, so thoroughly in the American tradition, turned out to be worth armies of men.

When German morale finally cracked, it was on the basis of the Fourteen Points. In October, 1918, the German Government requested Wilson to arrange an immediate armistice on these terms. The Allies agreed, except for two reservations: they excluded the freedom of the seas clause, and they demanded compensation from Germany for war damage.

When Wilson went to Europe, he found an adoring population ready to hail the champion of world democracy, and tough old statesmen determined to restore the old order, the new champion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The other members of the Big Four were less than enthusiastic about Wilson's vision: Clemenceau—gruff, precise, his interests and his life bounded by France, who referred to Wilson as "Jupiter" and "Jesus Christ," ridiculed the "Fourteen Commandments," and sought limitless retribution against the "Boches." Lloyd George—the skilled scintillating improviser, and nimble-witted politician who favored a new balance of power favorable to Britain. Orlando—an Italian nationalist who distressed his colleagues by his legalistic approach.

To add to their concern was the fact that Wilson's words had been heard far beyond the confines of Europe. African students followed reports from the peace conference with avid attention to see whether the principles of self-determination were to be applied outside of Europe. Asian nationalists like young Ho Chi Minh came to Versailles in person to demand on French soil an end to French colonialism on the soil of Indochina.

Against such a background the saga of Woodrow Wilson during the ten months after the Armistice gave mixed impressions to a watching world. It still behooves Americans today to study it for

evidence of the American dream's explosive ability to stir men into action, as well as of the complexities of American political leadership.

* * *

WILSON left behind him in America increasing signs of popular weariness with Europe. The weariness had political overtones. The Republicans had won control of Congress in the 1918 election, and one of Wilson's most bitter personal enemies, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was in a key position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Others like Theodore Roosevelt were insisting that we had not been fighting to make the world safe for anything, but only to beat Germany because she had attacked us.

A number of leading Republicans, however, led by Ex-President William Howard Taft and Elihu Root, were deeply committed to a League to Enforce Peace, which had become Wilson's chief aim. Critics were later to say that Wilson's first mistake was to refuse recognition to such influential and internationalist Republicans in the composition of the Peace Commission.

In February, 1919, after long weeks of secret deliberations in Paris, Wilson returned on a brief trip to Washington. Already the shape of the peace treaty was becoming clear, and he wished to prepare the way for American ratification. In an effort to ease the growing resistance to his views, he invited the members of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs committees to a dinner at the White House. Wilson talked with candor about the unavoidable compromises he was making, and about the Covenant of the League of Nations which he was achieving as a result.

With America taking the lead inside the League for "the rights of all people," Wilson believed that the temporary wrongs which resulted from these compromises could gradually be remedied as bitterness eased. By, in, and through the League, America could work for those cherished purposes which had now moved out far beyond her own shores.

But the President's effort to convince his Congressional critics failed. When Senator Brandegee of Connecticut left the ill-fated

White House conference, he said, "I feel as if I had been wandering with Alice in Wonderland and had tea with the Mad Hatter."

On the eve of Wilson's return to Paris, Senator Lodge presented his famous "Round Robin," drawn up by Republican leaders, which announced to the world and to Wilson that the undersigned did not find the League Covenant acceptable "in the form now proposed." There were thirty-nine signatures of Senators or Senators-elect—all Republicans. Only thirty-three votes were needed to defeat the treaty.

But many Republicans offered their support, and Wilson was reassured. The very March night that the ominous "Round Robin" was published, Woodrow Wilson and Ex-President Taft walked arm in arm onto the platform of the packed Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

Enrico Caruso led five thousand people in singing "The Star Spangled Banner," Al Smith introduced the speakers, Taft spoke effectively for the League, and Wilson in the spirit of George M. Cohan's wartime song assured the cheering crowd that he would not "come back till it's over, over there."

Wilson counted most of all on his ability to win support for the League by such direct appeals to the people. Ignoring the demands of the Republican "Round Robin" that he weaken the League Covenant, Wilson said that he had already made enough compromises, and returned to Paris.

On June 28, 1919, the treaty was finally signed with glittering ceremony at Versailles, and the President returned to plead before the Senate for its approval. He emphasized that the League Covenant was not only the most important part of the treaty but was inseparable from it. "Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty?" he asked. "Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?"

Republican Senators Medill McCormick of Illinois, Brandegee of Connecticut, and Harding of Ohio immediately accepted the dare. Others, including small but influential liberal magazines, such as the *New Republic,* opposed ratification on the ground that the treaty was too harsh.

Several powerful Senators who were liberals in domestic policies became members of the "Battalion of Death" that vowed to destroy

the treaty and the League. Among other motives, it happened that many of them—including Johnson, Borah, Norris and LaFollette—represented sizable blocks of the seven million Americans of German birth or parentage. They bitterly condemned Germany's vast territorial losses, the staggering indemnity and the "unnatural" Polish Corridor, which fulfilled Wilson's Thirteenth Point for giving Poland "a free and secure access to the sea."

The leading spokesman of German-Americans, George Sylvester Viereck, denounced the "League of Damnations" and promised three million votes for the presidential candidate in the 1920 elections who agreed to oppose the treaty.

Italian-Americans deeply resented the President's efforts to remove the Yugoslav port of Fiume from Italy's control. Fiorello H. La Guardia, the future great "Little Flower" mayor of New York, then president of the New York City Board of Aldermen, was instrumental in organizing Italian-American opposition to Wilson and the treaty.

Nor did centuries of bitterness between Ireland and England help the prospects for what William Randolph Hearst called the "British-spawned League." The period of debate was an especially turbulent time in Ireland, and reports of murders, rioting and retaliation hindered Wilson's cause among Americans of Irish descent.

Irish prisoners of the British went on "hunger strikes," and in October, 1920, Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, died as a result of the seventy-four-day fast. De Valera toured the United States in the spring and summer of 1919 championing Irish independence. Many of his mass meetings booed Wilson for his failure to secure self-determination for Ireland.

The tenth article of the League Covenant obligated each member to assist its fellow members against "external aggression." Some opponents of the treaty even asserted that this would require us to send American boys of Irish descent to help England crush a future Irish revolt.

One of the few Democratic Senators to oppose the treaty, James Reed of Missouri, sought to appeal to racism by pointing out that colored peoples might outnumber whites in the League. His colleague Senator Sherman made an equally sordid appeal to religious prejudice by charging that the League would be managed by Catho-

lics and ruled by the Pope. Senator Borah, the Senate's leading orator, declared that he would not alter his opposition to the Covenant if Christ himself should appear on earth to plead for it.

Finally there were millions of Americans who had not yet fully broken with their traditional isolationism. The League was denounced as a prime example of the very "permanent alliances" against which Washington had warned us in his Farewell Address. Despite the fact that the League was no more than a loose confederation similar to the weak League of Friendship which preceded our own Constitution, the charge was made that it would force us to yield the sovereignty which we had won at Yorktown to a superstate controlled by aliens.

My father together with many other high tariff New England businessmen belonged to this isolationist school. As a young boy in Springfield, Massachusetts, I remember the conviction with which he espoused the embittered anti-Wilson viewpoint of the magazine *Harvey's Weekly,* which in issue after issue, as election day drew near, hopefully stretched across the bottom of each page. "Only ——— *more* days of Woodrow Wilson."

In the face of such opposition, some of it sincere, some of it political, and some of it outrageously demagogic, the outlook for the treaty appeared grim. But human hopes were too centered in the League for its advocates to give up in despair. And its chief advocate was a man of courage who at a time of crisis had embodied the very soul of America. He carried the fight to the people, and they responded with their old enthusiasm and fervor.

In presumably isolationist St. Louis, he received a thunderous ovation when he said that if he lost his fight for the League he would have to call together the men he sent to France, and say to them: "Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfill the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say that I have not been able to fulfill the promise. You are betrayed. You fought for something you did not get. And the glory of the armies and navies of the United States is gone like a dream in the night. . . .

"There will come sometime," he continued prophetically, "in the vengeful providence of God, another struggle in which not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as

many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world."

When the presidential party reached Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, Wilson was tired to the point of exhaustion. Behind him were twenty-two days and eight thousand miles of cross-country travel, thirty-six formal speeches averaging an hour or more, a dozen wearying parades, and innumerable railroad platform appearances.

Although this crowded schedule left room for only the briefest breathing spells, the President's near exhaustion was now mingled with growing confidence. A satisfying reaction from unexpectedly large crowds in the Midwest had grown to a tumultuous response on the Pacific Coast.

When the President walked onto the stage of the crowded new auditorium in Pueblo, he was cheered to the rafters with a ten-minute, standing ovation. Minutes before, he had seriously doubted his ability to speak at all. He had a splitting headache, and never before had he felt so utterly, oppressively ill. He would drastically trim his speech, say a few suitable words, and return to his train.

Now as the eager enthusiasm of his audience dinned in his ears, Wilson determined to go through with it after all. Drawing on his last nervous and physical resources he poured into his speech all of his eloquent conviction and passion.

He described his Decoration Day visit three months before to the American military cemetery at Suresnes, near Paris, and he asked his hearers: "What of our pledge to the men that lie dead in France? We said that they went over there not to prove the prowess of America or her readiness for another war, but to see to it that there never was such a war again."

Mothers who had lost their sons in France had come to him, taken his hand, and shed tears upon it as they said, "God bless you, Mr. President."

"Why, my fellow citizens, should they pray God to bless me? I advised the Congress . . . to create the situation that led to the death of their sons. I ordered their sons overseas. Why should they weep upon my hand and call down the blessings of God upon me? Because they believe that their boys died for something that vastly transcends any of the immediate and palpable objects of the war. . . .

"Now that the mists of this great question have cleared away,"

the President concluded, "I believe that men will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before."

For a moment after Wilson finished, the hall was hushed. Then there burst forth a deafening roar of applause, the greatest ovation of his tour. No one there knew that he was cheering both the close of a speech and the close of a career.

Later that night insomnia and the racking headache returned to confirm the worst fears of the President's physician. Before the train reached Wichita, the rest of the tour was canceled over Wilson's pathetic protests, and only after he had been assured that his great mission had succeeded and the treaty was safe.

No one could know then that with the collapse of the President died the hope that America would approve the treaty, adhere to the League and work with other democratic nations to avoid the future "struggle" which he assured his audience in St. Louis would surely come "in the vengeful providence of God" if America retreated into isolationism.

* * *

ON March 19, 1920, came the final defeat of the treaty in the United States Senate. It came on a resolution of ratification with the Lodge reservations attached. Although the treaty had the majority of 49–35, it lacked seven votes of the necessary two-thirds.

Twenty-one Democrats had voted to get some kind of treaty even at the price of the reservations. Twenty-three Democrats held out against the reservations and thus voted the treaty down completely. If seven of the last twenty-three had finally compromised, the watered-down treaty would have carried. Instead they joined the twelve extremist Republicans and the last hope of the treaty expired.

The semiparalyzed Wilson himself hoped that this fight could go

on and that the presidential campaign of 1920 would be a "solemn referendum" on the issue of the treaty and the League. The Democratic candidate James M. Cox promised that if elected the United States would enter the League as soon as he could bring it about.

At Hyde Park on August 9, 1920, Cox's running mate for Vice President, the young Franklin D. Roosevelt, said: "Even as the nation entered the war for an ideal, so it has emerged from the war with the determination that the ideal shall not die. . . . Success on land and sea [can] be but half a victory—we must add this: It shall not occur again."

A month before the voting, a remarkable public document was issued bearing the names of thirty-one influential Americans, mostly internationalist Republicans, including Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes, and William Howard Taft. It inspired new hope by expressing the belief that if the Republicans won, the United States would enter a revised League.

But the Republican candidate himself was busy appealing to what he believed to be a widespread craving for a less adventuresome existence. "America's present need," Warren G. Harding asserted, "is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not experiment, but equipoise; not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality."

For the next decade America tried to retire into Mr. Harding's normalcy, while a disappointed world went its way without her.

In retrospect Wilson himself may be criticized for striking too unbending a pose. By refusing to compromise in Washington as he had compromised in Paris, he lost the support of those whose relatively minor criticism might have been met.

Wilson has also come to symbolize for some critics an open-ended idealism which avoided defining its concrete goals. To a degree this criticism is undeniably valid, but it is dangerous if it leads to the assumption that in this revolutionary age a foreign policy based on meaningful human values is *per se* unrealistic and unworkable.

Others charged that Wilsonian self-determination had inspired a narrow nationalism that led to the replacement of large workable economic and political units with small quarreling states that could not possibly stand on their own feet.

Although scholars will continue to argue over such questions and

particularly over how the Wilsonian tragedy itself might have been avoided, his own and future generations will remember Wilson for two major achievements.

The first, as we have seen, was undoubtedly his sponsorship of the League and his historic recognition that the time had come for the world to organize itself against war. The second was his exposition of a free world society.

To the non-American world, Wilson left the League as a growing institution, handicapped by America's failure to join, but nevertheless capable of many constructive achievements in the interwar period. To his own countrymen, his fight for the League has itself seemed to be Wilson's major legacy—one that would be vindicated by the following generation.

America had begun the twentieth century with a flirtation with imperialism. Then in the agony of world war, one of American democracy's historic spokesmen had proposed a democratic world organization which might in time have made world war impossible. This was a development for which American history had been the great rehearsal, and which Western civilization desperately needed for its own survival.

When America retreated into isolation, some of her glory was gone, like a dream that disappears in the night, never to return. But the revolutionary concepts which America had culled and developed into world-shaking principles out of the crucible of her own experience—these were not fated to disappear with Wilson's defeat.

Whatever the reservations of his critics, no one can deny that Wilson demonstrated the power of ideas on men, the tremendous vitality of American leadership when harnessed to the ideal of a complete democratic worldwide revolution. From the days of the social welfare measures of the New Freedom in his first administration, to the end of his public career, Wilson was aware of the human dimension of politics and deeply committed to the pursuit of meaningful, democratic goals, not only in America but abroad.

Before long the ideas of world organization and world democracy—Wilson's twofold legacy—were again the major issues of the day. The second war which Wilson had predicted if America turned its back on the world came within a short two decades. The Great Debate in which Wilson's career had ended was thus renewed.

This time, by a series of actions familiar to most of us now living —the destroyer-for-bases exchange, the Lend-Lease Act, the Atlantic Charter, the peacetime draft—America reversed its earlier judgment. When the bombs fell on Pearl Harbor, most of our lingering doubts about our world responsibilities were swept aside. In the Four Freedoms Franklin Roosevelt, drawing from the same ideals which Wilson had proclaimed, gave voice to what was now the conviction of the vast majority of Americans.

At the war's end, the American people were firmly committed to joining the kind of international organization which its leaders had rejected in Wilson's time. Indeed the United States took the lead in organizing the United Nations, its Charter passed the Senate with only two dissents, and its home was built on American soil.

The world then waited to see whether America had really recaptured the substance of Wilson's appeal, to see what America would do with her new instruments of power, to see what goals she would seek in the new international organization.

No one would have been more aware than Wilson that the United Nations, like his League, would only be a procedural vehicle for policies, enlightened or unimaginative. It and the nations within it would have to address themselves to the substantive problems vexing mankind. "There must be some real ground for the universal unrest and perturbation," Wilson wrote in his last article in 1923. "It is not to be found in superficial politics or in mere economic blunders. It probably lies deep at the sources of the spiritual life of our time. It leads to revolution."

After examining contemporary economic practices at home and abroad, Wilson suggested that "the blame for the present discontent and turbulence" might not be "wholly on the side of those who are in revolt."

"Democracy has not yet made the world safe against irrational revolution," Wilson continued. "That supreme task, which is nothing less than the salvation of civilization, now faces democracy, insistent, imperative. There is no escaping it unless everything we have built up is presently to fall in ruin about us, and the United States, as the greatest of democracies, must undertake it.

"The road that leads away from revolution is clearly marked," the dying statesman concluded. "It must include sympathy and

helpfulness and a willingness to forego self-interest in order to promote the welfare, happiness, and contentment of others and of the community as a whole."

Would America, having helped to accomplish part of Wilson's dream for a world organization of peoples, muster the strength and conviction to give it the content of democratic world policies which Wilson also symbolized?

Only if America had that strength would she affirm in substance the truth of Wilson's words spoken when he was still the nation's leader: "There have been other nations as rich as we. There have been other nations as powerful. There have been other nations as spirited. But I hope we shall never forget that we created this nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind."

SECTION VII

Assessing the Challenge

I CANNOT say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs a true sublimity and the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things?

THOMAS HUXLEY
at Johns Hopkins University, 1876

CHAPTER 31

New Hopes and Bygone Choices

IN resumé the theme of this book may be simply stated. During the past two generations while Europe was suffering from self-inflicted wounds and while America was coming of age in world affairs, there have occurred elsewhere on earth revolutions whose roots are powerful but whose destiny is as yet unknown. America's own revolution is relevant to them.

In a single decade, 1911–21, three men, Lenin, Sun Yat-sen and Gandhi, awoke a billion people from centuries of inertia. We have had a hasty glimpse of Russia, where in 1917 the Czarist heritage of poverty, illiteracy and oppression proved too strong for a brief, weak-willed, social democracy and provided fertile ground instead for the strenuous onslaught of Lenin's militant new Marxism. In less than forty years through a combination of ruthlessness, able organization and sacrificial zeal, the Soviet state has catapulted ahead in power and prestige to become the world's second industrial nation and to challenge the future of Western civilization.

In China the heritage of the Taiping peasant rebellion was preserved by the moderate but fragmented program of Sun Yat-sen, only to be ultimately diverted into the Communist camp by the new techniques of Mao Tse-tung. Today China, with a vast and hard-working population, strives to emulate Russian success.

We have also examined the Gandhian revolution which set 450

million Indians and Pakistanis free and which now seeks to create a modern democratic India. Lacking the dogma and deceit of Communism, it is in many ways far more complex and even less well understood.

Elsewhere in Asia, in Africa, and even in South America, the revolutionary demand for change is producing comparably strong passions. The questions on much of the world's agenda are revolutionary questions.

From the platform of the Bandung Conference, the speeches of African-Asian leaders echoed the four leading revolutionary demands: for nationalism and against foreign domination, for human dignity and against racial or caste discrimination, for rapid economic development and against the lingering feudalism which perpetuates poverty, misery and hunger, for peace and against the perpetual fear of war.

The Colonial Revolution, as we have seen, is operating with the same raw material that the Communist revolutions have used. That raw material has reappeared often enough now for us to understand it: in essence it is the raw material of human hope.

Most of mankind has always been poor and oppressed. But now the word is out and spreading like wildfire across a dry prairie that no longer need any people be resigned to poverty and injustice.

Even in remote parts of the world, man today sees before him the possibility of universal plenty for the first time in history. Often he is prepared to grasp at the doctrine, the party and the men who appear to offer him the best prospects for the fulfillment of that hope in his lifetime.

In Russia and China the strategists of the world Communist party, who are in possession of those two giant states, are seeking to present Communism as the answer to these revoluntionary questions, and thus to turn the world-wide ferment into one centrally directed, world revolution. They can be expected skillfully to employ alternating tactics of force and persuasion to reach their goals. As a part of this process they hope to divide the Atlantic nations and to isolate America from the world.

The chief concern of the West has been to deal with this program of expansion and subversion without bringing down on our heads the ruin of atomic war. But this is a negative approach. For us self-righteously to demand that Communism change its nature, without

ourselves laboring to satisfy the need to which Communism professes to provide an answer, is to offer the world not bread, but a stone.

If we are to have any real share in shaping the solutions that are ultimately adopted, we must, of course, uproot once and for all any lingering nostalgia for our comfortable isolationist past. In this we are fortunate, for however much the hazards and costs of a world policy may tempt us occasionally to rebel against them, the painful lessons of World War II and its aftermath are now recognized by most Americans.

Science has made the world a community smaller than the United States a hundred years ago. An American radio listener can now hear daily, eyewitness reports of happenings in most distant areas of the globe. He can fly to those areas in a fraction of the speed that our Founding Fathers took to travel from New York to Boston. Most Americans now accept the implications of these facts. It is an illusion to believe that in such a world we can isolate ourselves in any meaningful sense from the needs, hopes and fears of other people without inviting disaster.

The United States with 5 per cent of the population of the globe uses about 50 per cent of all the world's output of raw materials. The Paley Report to the President showed that in 1952 America consumed 9 per cent more raw materials than it produced. Of the thirty-two most important minerals of industry and defense we were already deficient in twenty-three. Even with full access to the resources of South America we still have to go to Africa and Asia for chrome, tin, cobalt, manganese, mercury, uranium, asbestos, graphite, tungsten and other essential materials of growth and defense.

Taking account of our economic growth curve, the Paley Report calculated that by 1975 the American consumption of industrial raw materials will increase by another 60 per cent. These additional imports must come increasingly from Asia and Africa.

Thus American farms, factories and Main Street stores become steadily more dependent on the men who produce copper in Northern Rhodesia, oil in Iran, and manganese in Bihar, on those who operate the complex trade mechanism of London, and who load the dingy freighters at the docks of Bombay, Accra, Rangoon and Port Said.

An isolated America in this nuclear age would also be difficult

to defend. The deterrent striking power of our Strategic Air Command is still largely based on the homelands and territories of our allies. If in the absence of a workable disarmament agreement those bases are ever denied to us, our retaliatory striking power against possible Soviet or Chinese aggression will be dangerously reduced.

From this great, new political fact retreat is impossible. In a new and total sense, we live in what Wendell Willkie described as One World. Even though it is dangerously divided into eighty competing nation states, two armed camps, and the variety of seemingly irrepressible ideologies, empires and revolutions which we have been examining, it is the only world we have, and somehow we must learn how to live in it.

One of the first lessons we must learn if we are to live in it successfully is that there are very real limits to American policy. At times we will find this essential fact very difficult to grasp.

"As a people, we have never encountered any obstacle that we could not overcome," Adlai Stevenson has warned us. "We never came across a river we couldn't bridge, a depression we couldn't overcome, a war we couldn't win. So far, we have never known the tragedy, frustration and sometimes defeat which are ingrained in the memories of all other peoples."

Our traditionally engaging and self-confident approach to life, despite its great attractiveness, is likely to frustrate us increasingly from now on. We have now emerged on a world stage in a revolutionary situation where our admitted strengths are bounded by obvious limitations of national size, resources, population, geography and experience. In this new situation we need humility, and most of all we need what President Eisenhower has called "the courage to be patient."

But while we must recognize our limitations, we must beware of using them as an excuse for inaction. The future itself is unpredictable. Freedom may survive even though we Americans do all the wrong things. It may be destroyed even though we do all the right things. As far as we can measure, however, America possesses the marginal means which may spell success or failure in the worldwide democratic revolution for bread, freedom and peace. Moreover, America's is the policy, after all, which Americans can do most to determine.

How shall we strive to shape it? Does our present world strategy

measure up to the revolutionary challenge? Clearly it does not. What then can we do to correct it?

Among the first and most important things we can do is to get our bearings within the framework of sound historical perspective. Unquestionably we are at one of those rare crossroads in history which may be even more dramatic than the breakup of the Roman Empire or the emergence of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER 32

The Perspective of History

IT may help us to remember that ours is not the first to call itself a "modern civilization," and to face the kind of questions haunting us now. Rome and many others once considered themselves world societies and faced revolutionary challenges.

Professor Arnold Toynbee says that no fewer than twenty recorded civilizations before ours of the West have tried to climb up the face of the cliff of history. Each in its turn stirred out of the peaceful slumber of a static primitive society, left safety behind, and sought to reach the next great ledge of a universal civilization based on the consent of the governed. Sixteen have already perished in the attempt, and all others but our own have already seriously faltered.

Our Western civilization, says Toynbee, has now entered its time of troubles, and the question facing us all is whether we will be able to succeed where so many others have failed. In each of these earlier attempts, Toynbee suggests, the ship of civilization has crashed on the reef of one or both of two central human problems which he calls War and Class.

Among separate parts of the great societies which tried to become universal civilizations, warfare—with the militarism and reliance on force that comes in its wake—emerged as one of the main causes of the breakdown.

By Class, Toynbee refers to all those economic inequalities and racial or religious discriminations which perpetuate the domination and exploitation of one group over another and sow seeds of dissension in any community. In this sense, Toynbee believes, Class has

comprised the second main cause of the breakdown of civilization.

"War and Class," he writes, "have been with us ever since the first civilizations emerged. . . . When we diagnose each case, *in extremis* and *post mortem,* we invariably find that the cause of death has been either War or Class or some combination of the two."

But each time the cause of death was also suicide. If something inside the civilization had not weakened it, given it a fatal failure of nerve, and robbed it of the ability to attract and hold the loyalty of its people, no outside force would have been strong enough to stop it.

The historian-coroner of ancient Greece, according to Toynbee, would lay his finger on the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. as the time of suicide. It did not matter whether Athens or Sparta won, because Greece never recovered from the fratricidal war between the city-states and among the classes within each city.

How to put put an end to war and establish a rough equality of opportunity? That has been the life and death question for all previous civilizations. It is no less a question for ours, and the essential aims of our policies must be defined in its terms.

The Problem of War

History shows us that previous generations have sought to solve the problem of War by three different approaches: the domination of the world by one power, a balance of power between nations and combinations of nations, and voluntary union. Since each of these approaches is being advocated in one form or another as the solution to our present dilemma, it may be worth while briefly to examine their careers in Western history.

Empire has been the oldest of the three. After the mutual destruction of the Greek city-states, the new republic of Rome attempted to unify by military power the whole known, civilized world. Although the phrase "a Roman peace" implies a peace imposed by force, for centuries the Roman Empire did give the world the fruits of peace: roads, aqueducts, bridges, canals, irrigation systems, enlarged harbors, drained swampland, uniform systems of taxes, a great free trading area, a common money, a common army or police force and, above all, Roman law.

Rome eventually fell, but the ideal of universal Roman law, of peace under a common government—indeed of a restored Roman

Empire—persisted throughout Christendom and has had a profound influence on Western history.

The West has seen many other attempts at an imposed imperial solution. A Revolutionary France, at the moment when its republican forces began to turn the counterrevolutionary tide in Europe, embarked on a mission of empire. The nineteenth century Caesar from Corsica talked of a United States of Europe. But the growing military dominance of France, and his crowning in the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire, demonstrated that this was a conscious attempt to rebuild the glory of Rome. Napoleon's Code which for a time brought most of Europe under one law, and his free-handed manipulation of European monarchies, etched the European Idea on continental minds in a way that no exile could erase.

Later Hitler in alliance with Japan was to make a new attempt at world domination. For forty years the Soviet Union has also made no secret of the objective of a world empire which it seeks to advance through the Communist movement. Even in America there have been a few who guardedly asserted that the only practical way to assure peace is for us to play the role of Caesar.

The second traditional method of avoiding War has been through a balance of power. With the dimming of the Roman imperial dream, Renaissance political theorists discovered in the balance of power among states a beautiful design, the kind of "natural balance" or "just equilibrium" that they were finding everywhere else in life. If the virtue of empire is in its unity and universal law and order, the virtue of a successful balance of power is in an equilibrium which permits a kind of liberty and diversity.

A balance needs a balancer, capable of shifting its weight from one scale to another. The most successful balancer ever known was industrial, island England, which for nearly 250 years made it her purpose to see that no one continental power or group of powers became sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon the rest of Europe, which until 1914 was almost the sole key to world stability.

From 1815 to 1914 in her "splendid isolation," Britain was able to preside over European society without the exhausting expenditure of men and money required by most previous empires, and without the stultifying effect of constant resorts to coercion. Nineteenth century liberalism and humanitarianism were some of the fruits.

Ironically, Britain obtained the power to achieve this balance from

an industrialism that had built an empire. The British Empire, armed and guarded by the British fleet, brought law and order and a kind of peace directly and indirectly to nearly half the globe. Pax Britannica which prevailed for most of the nineteenth century was therefore a combination of the two ancient methods, an empire in the colonial world, and a balance of power in Europe.

But history demonstrates convincingly that empire has within it the seeds of its own destruction, and that balance of power is inevitably precarious. By definition empire means peace by force, unity by compulsion. An empire ends when the people being subjugated gain the strength and will to throw off their rulers, or when the rulers lose the strength or will to continue the effort of subjugation, or when internal awakening and weakening makes the empire an inviting target for outside attack.

Thus Rome fell from internal class dissension which made it vulnerable to barbarian invasion. Britain's days as a world-wide empire were numbered when democracy took root inside Britain and when colonial revolt spread inside the British Empire from America to India to Africa.

Balance of power in its turn depends on the possibility of keeping the powers that be in balance. New forces either within or without may emerge to upset the equilibrium. The feudal balance collapsed when dynamic economic forces within feudalism, such as the cities with their new industries and businessmen, upset the harmony.

The nineteenth century European political balance began to waver with the rise of industrial Germany, an imperial continental power not easily contained even by the world's greatest fleet. In 1870 Britain remained on the sidelines of the Franco-Prussian War in the hope that a unified Germany might act as an effective counterbalance to France, which had been the chief threat to this power balance for the previous two hundred years. Forty years later, Britain entered the first modern world war, this time on the side of France, to prevent domination of the Continent by the united Germany which Britain herself had allowed to develop.

"I trust your country will not fail to support France and Russia in fighting to maintain the balance of power in Europe," Nicholas II wired to Georve V in August, 1914. But no matter how well Britain fought, the European balance of power in its traditional sense would never be restored, let alone "maintained." Indicative of the tumultu-

ous new forces at work to upset it was the revolution which three years later unseated the Czar himself and which turned Russia under Communist leadership into a dynamic new world force.

Experience with the inadequacies of empires and balances of power as guarantors against war has led to a third general approach to peace—the idea of a voluntary union of nations, cemented by common institutions of government.

The city-states of ancient Greece attempted to unite to prevent war, or at least to undertake collective action against aggressors, but the Greek leagues never amounted to much more than meetings of ambassadors. However, voluntary union to put an end to war has explicitly been in the Western mind since the fall of Rome.

In the Middle Ages the Church was seen as the keystone of such unity. In 1514 Erasmus in Holland advocated a system of world arbitration by popes, abbots, bishops and wise men. In 1518 Pope Leo X and Cardinal Wolsey actually negotiated a "Treaty of Universal Peace," based on the principle of collective action against aggressors.

In 1625 Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist known as the father of international law, published his famous treatise, *The Laws of War and Peace.* Sovereign states, he argued, should be bound by international law in the same way that individuals are bound by national and local law. He proposed that an assembly of Christian princes be convened to deliberate and impose sanctions enforcing the Law of Nature. In the century that followed, nine such international conferences were held to fix the "public law" of Europe.

A score or more of peace plans equally well known were devised in the subsequent three centuries. Not all of the plans came from kings, statesmen and famous philosophers, however. In 1779 a French schoolmaster, Pierre-André Gargaz, who had been falsely accused of murder and sentenced to twenty years as a galley slave, sent an ingenious plan for union to Benjamin Franklin who had long been urging a continental union of the North American states.

Signing himself "Convict No. 1336," Gargaz proposed not only the then current ideas of arbitration and an international police force based on quotas, but also a world-wide public works program, to be paid out of the sums to be saved by the abolition of war. Road building, storing of surplus food for use in famine areas, irrigation

and flood control were on his list, along with the building of canals over the Isthmus of Panama and at Suez.

After his release in 1781 he walked all the way to Passy where Franklin, then the first ambassador from the New World to the Old, printed his plan. In 1786, despairing of European leadership, he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, the new American Minister to France, urging that the New World initiate the union.

On its own territory, the New World was doing just that. After the former American colonies achieved independence, the rivalries became so intense that the history of European disunion and conflict seemed certain to be repeated on North American shores. Not only did each of the thirteen states have its own little army, but some of the states had staked out vast colonial claims with overlapping boundaries in the Northwest. "There are combustibles in every state which a spark might set fire to," Washington wrote to Jay.

Among those who came to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 in Philadelphia, were many who assumed that any fundamental revisions of the Articles of Confederation were politically impossible. At a critical moment at the Convention, Washington is said to have broken an ominous deadlock with these solemn words:

"It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. But if to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

The standard was the Constitution, and the event was an expanding federal union. In other areas, too, where vast size or cultural, religious or linguistic differences made a centralized state impracticable, genuine federations were forged with equal success and timeliness. Switzerland, Canada and Australia were examples.

Their success in addition to that of our own earlier model has led many people, including the statesmen of a number of European countries, to advocate federation as a solution to the problem of international anarchy, whether in Europe alone, among the North Atlantic democracies generally, or in the world at large.

In 1787 Benjamin Franklin wrote to a European friend: "I send you enclosed the proposed new federal constitution of the United States. If it succeeds I do not see why you might not in

Europe, form a federal union of all the different states and kingdoms by means of a like convention."

In certain limited fields, regional groupings of nations are already moving in this direction, most notably in the European coal-iron-steel community. This organization is already wielding political and economic authority transcending the jurisdiction of its members.

But the long history of these three competing methods of war prevention—empire, balance of power, and union—and the elements of each which remain in our total world picture today, suggest that neither a world empire by one power, nor a stable balance of power, nor a full-fledged world federal government is likely to appear soon on the diplomatic agenda.

Interestingly enough, for over a century Russia and the United States respectively have represented two of these competing symbols—empire and union. With the steady addition of new states to the Union and new liberties for the people, nineteenth century Americans moved westward to establish peace, law and free trade from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Save for the fratricidal years of the Civil War, their slogan, "liberty and union, one and inseparable," went with them.

Simultaneously another great folk migration was under way in the Eurasian heartland. Great Russians were moving eastward into Siberia, creating another continental empire. As the nineteenth century wore on, the world began to speculate on what might happen when these two giants expanded to their natural geographic limits.

In 1835 a distinguished French visitor to America, Alexis de Tocqueville, made an extraordinarily accurate prediction of things to come:

> There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans.
>
> The principal instrument of the latter is freedom, of the former, servitude. Their starting point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

The military meeting of the Union of the Free and the Empire of the Eurasian Heartland came peacefully in 1945 on the Elbe in the very center of Europe. Their relations would have been uneasy

in any event. But to complicate matters further, a conflict was developing between the white, industrialized, colony-possessing nations grouped around the North Atlantic basin, and the colored, awakening, raw-material-producing peoples of Asia and even Africa.

This conflict raised anew, with greater world-wide insistence, the second age-old problem which Toynbee calls Class. Russia, once an outlying province of the West, offered the West a formidable challenge, not merely because it possessed a Red Army which might at any time embark on the old imperial Roman mission to pacify the world by forcible unification, but even more because it possessed an ideology which offered its own violent solution to class struggle.

The Problem of Class

Class can involve race, color and religion as well as economic status. It is more comprehensive and less identifiable than the problem of War. It can also be more personal and more embittering. It offers none of war's peculiar relief in glory or glamour. Yet it is deep enough to cause a resort to devastating civil strife and even to war itself.

In a sense our society, as Aristotle said of ancient Greece, has always consisted of two cities, the City of the Rich and the City of the Poor. Today this division has been transposed to a world plane. The nations of the Atlantic basin—America in particular—constitute almost by definition the City of the Rich. The rest, the majority, of mankind largely constitutes the City of the Poor.

Unfortunately in 1920, just when America slumped from the world-minded idealism of President Wilson to the plodding normalcy of President Harding, Lenin offered the world's first program designed consciously and deliberately to end the division between the two Cities of the Rich and the Poor. Class inequalities would be ended by the massive and planned use of modern science and technology.

Lenin's was history's most ruthless attempt to do away with Class, and the promise he held out for a classless society created a mighty stir throughout the City of the Poor. His avowed concern with ending injustice, and his readiness to upset the *status quo* by any means fair or foul, gave to Communism a dramatic attractiveness for the impatient and the long oppressed. To add to its appeal Lenin promised that war would be abolished by the universal dominion of

a world Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In part, Lenin was offering the old alternative of empire, but now it was dressed in beguiling new clothes.

That the proposed dictatorship of the proletariat would be a dictatorship; that the Russian party's control meant national domination of the world revolution; that imperial power corrupts; that resort to violent coercion contradicts all promise of persuasion; that an all-powerful, self-selecting, party bureaucracy in control of the tools of production would become a new class—all this should have been self-evident.

But throughout the world tens of millions of weary people were searching for a solution and thirsting for a promise. They saw only that for the first time in history a world-wide political party had emerged, firmly based on the world's largest national land area, and that this party promised a solution to what they saw as mankind's most pressing problem. Enough seeds of Lenin's Revolution germinated in China so that there a nationalist, class-conscious rebellion led to a civil war in which Communism again emerged victorious.

Outside the immediate orbit of Communism, we have found the raw material of revolution among most of the billion or more people in the colonial, underdeveloped and largely colored part of the world. The Gandhian Revolution too was expressly aimed at the dual problems of War and Class. For Gandhi there was an obvious connection between ending Class and the prospects for peace. "A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day," he said, "unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give, and sharing them for the common good."

This means, of course, that instead of one revolution—the Russian—on the periphery of Western civilization, we now face at least three. All of them, the revolutions of Lenin, Mao and Gandhi, have taken place in the City of the Poor, and each for better or for worse has grown out of the age-old, world-wide theme of revolt against injustice and misery. Outside any known orbit of influence, primitive passions such as those expressed by the Mau Mau in Kenya further suggest the inflammable attitudes that exist just under the surface in much of today's world.

With a profound stake in stability, vastly outnumbered, and faced with such extraordinarily disruptive forces, many Americans are inclined to denounce all proposals for change as alien and incom-

prehensible. But we can not easily run away from the consequences of our own history. We have seen that the forces with which we must now contend have been generated by the nations of the North Atlantic basin and often by America itself.

It was the people of the West who committed themselves in the days of the Renaissance to follow science and technology wherever it led, and to apply the fruits to the freeing of modern man from all forms of tyranny over his mind and body. This commitment led to today's world, whose people, wherever they can be heard, are demanding economic and political rights in some measure comparable to our own, and in a larger sense, demanding an end to Class and War.

Today the two Cities of the Rich and Poor are facing each other, accentuating these world-wide issues of War and Class. Communism, an outgrowth of the West, proposes to unite the two cities into one through violent revolution.

The West itself has suggested tentative alternatives. In 1944 we proposed the United Nations as a kind of voluntary union to enforce peace. Since 1948 we have worked to create a ring of military allies and military bases in an effort to discourage War. The UN specialized agencies, Point Four Assistance, and the Colombo Plan have been used to help bridge the economic gap. But generally on the issue of Class we have too largely abdicated our responsibilities and left the field open to our adversaries. Why has this been so?

America's Revolution, as we have seen, also involved a continuing assault on the problem of Class. And America did not lack spokesmen who proclaimed her solution as the universal remedy. But compared with Communism, the American prescription has always been less explicit, less doctrinaire, more a pragmatic shaping of measures to circumstances.

With it, we have succeeded within America in creating the most mobile society the world has yet seen, one in which class distinctions and the sundering inequality between the very rich and the very poor are all but eliminated for most of us. And yet, the very experimental quality that has made for the success of our effort has created handicaps in an ideological competition where people want clear answers and quick results.

The tempo of this competition mounts fatefully in the diplomatic discussion, which, alternately hopeful and deadly, goes on. America,

Russia, China, India and the rest of the Middle World—each sometimes sounds as if the century were reserved for one of them alone. Yet, however much some of them dislike the prospect, it is beginning to appear that all of them are fated to operate together on the world stage for the foreseeable future. It is also beginning to appear that unless the world is made tolerable for each of them, it may eventually prove intolerable for all.

Does this amount to coexistence? Yes, but coexistence is a misleading term, misleading in its implication of inaction. Certainly Moscow and Peking will continue to act everywhere they can on the issues of War and Class—if not for the time being, at least, brandishing armaments, then offering the many, formidable, nonmilitary weapons which they brought increasingly into play in the post-Stalinist thaw: new ideas, new promises, new peace proposals, new economic programs, new cultural efforts, new political policies and persuasive "new looks" on the diplomatic front.

The nations of the Middle World can be expected to remain for the most part suspicious, preoccupied with their own problems, reluctant to take direct responsibility, inclined more and more to strike a middle if not mediating role between the two nuclear giants, and determined to be free, to be granted full respect regardless of race or color, and to create a better life for their people.

In our closely knit revolutionary world, tormented as never before in history by the ancient and fateful problems of War and Class, no single question is more fundamental than America's ability to come to grips with this complex, world-wide challenge.

CHAPTER 33

A Pax Americana?

WHAT are the alternatives before us? Since isolation is totally impossible, can we fly to the other extreme and follow in the footsteps of ancient Rome? Why not use our vast economic and military power to impose peace on the world and preserve the economic *status quo*? Why not establish a new kind of American empire for the benefit of everyone?

To do so would, of course, mean the abandonment of the essential idea which made America great, the idea of government by the consent of the governed. But the advocates of *Realpolitik* would not accept this as an answer. If we are to satisfy them, we must coldly ask ourselves whether such an imperial solution is feasible.

The key questions are obvious. Empire means the use or threat of force. Do we have the military means to put down the nationalist and class revolutions brewing on every continent? Do we have the means to enforce a Roman peace? Since both sides possess atomic weapons and the means to deliver them, we must face the supreme practical question: would war result in one Rome or two Carthages?

The estimated effects of atomic warfare have begun to make the double Carthaginian specter increasingly possible. The detonation close to the ground of megaton weapons (one megaton equals one million tons of TNT) produces not only blast and heat effects, but throws millions of tons of dirt and debris of all kinds eighty thousand feet or more into the air. The hydrogen bomb tested by the United States in the Pacific in the spring of 1954 blanketed a seven thousand square mile area as large as New Jersey with lethal radio-

active fall-out, according to an official statement released by the Atomic Energy Commission. Those familiar with the possibilities feel that they have been admitted to "the anteroom of hell."

Based on presently known or estimated Soviet capabilities, the assumptions of the Federal Civil Defense Administration include the following: that the USSR has the capability of striking any city in the United States, that if an attack should come it would consist of nuclear weapons including thermonuclear types, that these weapons would be delivered by air and detonated above ground during normal working hours, and that accompanying their delivery the enemy would use high explosive and incendiary bombs, biological and chemical weapons, sabotage and psychological warfare, including a confusing deluge of clandestine radio broadcasting over the call letters of American radio stations.

Civil Defense Administrator, Val Peterson, has advised the American people that in the event of war they have three choices: "Dig, die or get out." On June 15, 1955, his Civil Defense Administration staged "Operation Alert," a nation-wide test of our ability to carry on if an attack should come.

It was assumed that sixty-one principal American cities were struck simultaneously with nuclear and thermonuclear bombs ranging in power from twenty thousand to five million tons of TNT. The industrial capacities of all sixty-one cities were for all intents and purposes wiped out, and 25 million people were homeless.

In New York 2.9 million were dead including nearly half the city's school children. In Philadelphia the dead numbered 740,000 and in Los Angeles 584,000. The casualties in New England totaled nearly 6 million.

The evacuation tests showed that no town or city in the country was prepared to evacuate its people. Comprehensive plans for the transport, feeding and medical treatment of evacuees had barely begun. Jurisdictional overlapping between federal and state authorities, and between civilian and military agencies, had hamstrung and obscured responsibilities. The appeals of the understaffed and underfinanced Civil Defense Administration for industrial dispersal, municipal survival shelters and household basement shelter rooms, had largely fallen on deaf ears.

Moreover, critics promptly pointed out that "Operation Alert" by no means reflected the full extent of the damage which would be

inflicted on our cities in actual attack. The bombs which were presumed to have been dropped were described as "relatively old-fashioned and low powered." The Bikini test of March, 1954, involved a blast equivalent to twenty million tons of TNT, four times as powerful as the largest which was considered in "Operation Alert."

At the same time that newspaper columnists have been speculating on the undetermined effects of cumulative radiation on human genetics, the estimates from the scientific front continue to expand the possibilities of direct human destruction. In June, 1955, a speech by Dr. Willard F. Libby, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, indicated that the hydrogen bomb can now be made with the cheapest atomic explosives and in virtually unlimited size. Dr. Libby referred to H bombs that released energy by fission rather than fusion, indicating to physicists that ordinary, cheap Uranium 238 was the major explosive element.

The enormous significance of this disclosure meant that any country able to make ordinary atomic bombs could, with a little additional effort create superweapons of the megaton class, that these weapons could be made in any size because of the comparative simplicity and cheapness of Uranium 238, that the fall-out could persist for days, weeks, or months, and that there is no real defense against a bomb which could desolate 100,000 square miles, an area twice the size of New York State.

Such forecasts of possible annihilation from overseas are so new to American thinking that it is not surprising that, in the absence of clear-cut official policies and leadership, the public has been inclined either toward apathy or fatalism. Yet the idea of America as a new Rome, imposing its will on the world by force of arms, has at times exerted an insidious fascination on the minds of some of our so-called "realists," which even the Geneva climate is unlikely to end.

For the most part these spokesmen have been former last-ditch isolationists, exasperated by the dangers and the indecisiveness of continuing the Cold War struggle. They have pointed with alarm to certain trends indicating the gradual loss of our economic and military superiority. They have recognized that the Soviet economy has been pushing ahead at a rate of growth higher than our own, and that eventually it may approach our own production levels.

They have been frustrated by the growth of neutralism, the com-

mercial appeal of trade with the Communist countries, the prospects of a Russian Point Four operation abroad. They have thrown up their hands over Nehru's unwillingness to choose sides, and predicted that South and Southeast Asia will slip under Chinese or Russian domination. Exhausted both by our effort at budget-balancing and the possibility of more local wars, they privately have seen no way out but to trigger it all in one mighty Wagnerian holocaust.

Most of this small defeatist minority have realized that there is no possibility of carrying the American public into a "preventive war" as a public and conscious act. Their urgings have been more subtle. They have advocated seizing all conceivable pretexts, blowing up small incidents into large ones, and maneuvering ourselves into positions where total war would become inevitable.

For a variety of reasons this doctrine of preventive war, in whatever form, is one of reckless impracticality. The harshest fact of all today is that the world's problems are not susceptible to swift and single answers, even to enormous and brutal ones.

The Soviet counterblow might be nearly as serious as one launched initially from Moscow, and our adversary would retaliate on an America against which most of mankind had disgustedly turned its back. What would be preventive about such a situation? What conceivably useful political objectives would it meet? What could emerge out of a Russia or China laid waste by atomic attack, out of a Europe and Asia stunned by a new barbarism, out of a United States steeped in unbecoming guilt? There would be little left for the new Rome to rule, and we would have forfeited all right to the world's respect.

* * *

IF an American Rome created through preventive war is out of the question, what of the possibilities of a Rome less dramatically achieved? Even if we deliberately oppose the idea of an American empire, do we know how to avoid it?

Empires sometime grow like Topsy. In a polarized world with America the chief power in her group, possessing overwhelming weapons and most of the industry and money, it would not be in-

conceivable for decision-making to gravitate toward Washington. On our part a "go-it-alone" callousness could arise that might gradually force our allies into the position of satellites.

Those who assume that America's power automatically entitles her to make unilateral nuclear decisions affecting the futures of millions of non-Americans, should not be surprised at the insistence from our allies that there be "no annihilation without representation." Their independence will increase if and as the Cold War subsides.

The feelings of Britain, our major ally, are a case in point. Although anti-Americanism in Britain is less professional and hard-bitten than on the European Continent, it is still widespread. There is no way in which a nation long accustomed to power, like Britain, can be induced to relish becoming junior partner to a brash newcomer to world affairs.

Sometimes the British reaction takes the form of incisive jibes at American expense, like the barbed remark dropped at a London diplomatic reception that "America will soon be the only former British colony which has not achieved responsible self-government."

Yet we must remind ourselves that in all likelihood the author of this comment might agree with the successful candidate for a job in the British Foreign Office who when asked to list the three most important things in life answered, "God, Love and Anglo-American relations." The surface manifestations of controversy often hide this underlying consensus of a common destiny, which in times of past crises has so convincingly seen us through.

Nevertheless the surface manifestations remain the observable ones, and disproportionately affect our own reactions. If Napoleon thought that facing a diversified alliance he had half his problems solved for him, there are times when the Kremlin must often think so too.

Yet the virtue of having allies rather than satellites is the same as the virtue of having democracy rather than regimentation. What is lost in efficiency is more than regained in the free play of ideas among individuals with common objectives but differing points of view. The methods of compromise and persuasion are likely to develop more adequate answers because the ground has been more widely canvassed. And the solutions adopted are likely to claim support because they provide more fully for the real interests of

those concerned, and all who participate know that they have had the chance to say their piece.

Alliances do indeed make great claims on the wisdom, patience, loyalty and good humor of statesmen and more especially of the people they represent. A state of mind which wearies of such qualities often reaches for abrupt and radical solutions.

It is this state of mind which has made the extremists in our midst so often the heirs of the old isolationists. Both exaggerate our capability for "going it alone." Both are uneasy and suspicious of "foreigners." Both often seem oblivious of the need and value of consultative, joint effort with other nations.

The one thing that the conscious advocates of preventive war and other less jingoistic forms of unilateral neoimperialism have in their favor is the self-assurance of a forceful, articulate position. A closer look, however, shows us that theirs is the negative assurance of despair.

Despite the air of bold risks taken, orders given, and rugged willingness to accept the ultimate test of war, it has at its core the hollow failure of nerve that marks the bully. Not even empires are, in the last analysis, won that way, much less a free world in which men and women can live daringly and creatively.

That kind of world requires of us a steadier resolve, a higher organization of all our resources than that of a gambler throwing the dice. It requires, of course, the continued maintenance of a military balance. But it requires, no less, a conscious awareness of the limited role of armed force.

Our diplomatic and economic resources must be fully committed. Most important of all, the considerable moral resources which we have seen as both the motivation and the product of the continuing American Revolution must be brought to bear on a scale we have not yet approached.

These are the problems that will concern us as we try to construct policies adequately responsive to the challenge before us.

SECTION VIII

American Policy in a World of Revolution

THE dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

CHAPTER 34

The Uses and Limits of Military Power

IN the main our strategy under two administrations since the War has been to contain Communism, in both its expansive Soviet and Chinese varieties, by creating "situations of strength" around the vast Russian-Chinese periphery. Since military power has often been seen by our strategists as the primary source of strength—an assumption we shall review later—let us examine our military strategy in terms of the revolutionary world we have surveyed.

In the last decade our military forces have been assigned two quite different missions: (1) to deter the Communists from any attack which would bring on an immediate world-wide conflict—such as an invasion of Western Europe, or an atomic assault on the United States; (2) to handle localized assignments, as in Korea, where the Communist forces are conventionally armed.

An examination of how well our armed forces have performed these two missions in the postwar decade from 1945–55 will help us to understand both the proper role and the practical limits of military power in the revolutionary decade ahead of us.

For the first mission, deterrence of all-out war, we have relied principally on a strategic air arm prepared to counter any major aggression with devastating atomic force.

The very success of the development of atomic armament, however, both here and in the Soviet Union, has paradoxically limited

its role in the over-all military picture. The more powerful these weapons grow and the more annihilating the probable consequences become, the smaller becomes the range of likely occasions on which we shall be prepared to use them and to accept the risk of world-wide atomic war.

This predicament has already caused the collapse of "massive retaliation" as a world-wide policy. Launched with such fanfare in January, 1954, on the assumption that it would save the use of American infantry, the policy when broadly applied failed in the first test of its practicability four months later in Indochina.

In effect, the concept of massive retaliation was an attempt to assign both missions—deterrence of general war *and* resistance to local aggressions—to the Strategic Air Command. The fallacy of the concept when applied all over the world was decisively revealed when tested against a local war situation in Asia.

Obviously total nuclear war is not the pattern of war that we should consciously seek to establish, or make inevitable through our inability to fight any other. Yet to many of our allies the proposed doctrine of "massive retaliation" implied exactly that: that we were to have no more wars except an enormous and final one.

In Europe, of course, such a policy, based on the massive use of nuclear power, was neither new nor untested. From the time of our pell-mell demobilization in 1946 until the NATO buildup in 1950, the sole military deterrent to a Red Army move into the power vacuum between the Elbe and the Atlantic was our ability to destroy Russian cities through our monopoly of the atomic bomb.

Russia undoubtedly knew then and knows now that we would consider an attack on Europe as an attack on ourselves, and that in response to such an attack we would immediately launch a nuclear onslaught not only on her armies but on her cities, even though the ensuing general war would involve widespread atomic destruction in our own country. Indeed the NATO position has been stated on many occasions. On October 21, 1954, for instance, Field Marshal Montgomery said: "I want to make it abundantly clear that we at SHAPE are basing all our operational planning on using atomic and thermonuclear weapons in our defense. These weapons will be used if we are attacked."

But would America be willing to accept these same terrible risks to meet local aggression in Asia—say, in Afghanistan, Burma, Iran

or Indochina? Our deep-felt reaction to the expansion of the war in Korea, and to the bare prospect of an even more limited involvement in Indochina, seems to say clearly that we would not.

This fundamental difference between American commitments in Europe and Asia is almost certainly apparent to the Russians and to the Chinese. If, in the absence of adequate disarmament safeguards, we place our principal reliance in Asia upon a method of retaliation which carries what are probably unacceptable risks, and at the same time reduce our capacity for more limited, local responses, we will in fact invite rather than deter, local aggression in Asia.

Even if, in the event of such aggression, we are in fact prepared to launch atomic attacks with the certainty of a general war, a narrow nuclear policy may tempt the Communists to miscalculate our readiness. And if, on the other hand, the Communists calculate that we will not risk general war over some small Asian aggression, and they do succeed in once calling our bluff, as indeed they have already done in Indochina, does not much of any deterrent value of the policy disappear overnight?

These questions assume that American strategic atomic bombing of major Chinese cities, as of Russian cities, would result in the outbreak of World War III. But suppose, for some reason, that after an American retaliatory attack on Chinese cities, Moscow decided to ignore its commitments under the Soviet-Chinese alliance and held its fire. Suppose it did not even take the next step, that of supplying the Chinese with some atomic bombs and bombers for retaliation on us. How vulnerable is vast, decentralized China to our atomic attack?

China, unlike the Soviet Union, has no major industrial concentration. The Chinese economy is not dependent upon highly articulated transportation and communications networks. Chinese armies are mobile, schooled in guerrilla warfare and in survival off the land, and they operate without the elaborate supply and support formation of NATO armies. Thus the atomic devastation of Chinese cities might well be the opening engagement in a lengthy, sprawling, indecisive conflict in which China's main asset, manpower, might occupy most of continental Asia.

And is there not a broader issue, indeed a fundamental moral issue, implicit in the policy of broadly applied massive retaliation

which in all conscience we should resolve with our eyes open? We are a religious people, who believe that man is sacred to God. We pride ourselves on our democratic faith in the ultimate worth of the individual. It is these beliefs that distinguish our way of life from that of the Communists.

Yet if we threaten to bomb China's cities, we would seem to be proposing to wipe out millions of Chinese men, women and children, huddled in cities which, unlike those of the Soviet Union, are almost devoid of legitimate military or industrial targets. Are we prepared to exact this frightful toll of helpless people in order to punish the rulers who control them?

Even in Europe where sophisticated people could see as clearly as we the danger of a Soviet attack, the necessity of massive atomic retaliation as a primary deterrent has placed a severe strain on our alliances. It has often been said that democracies lose all the battles but the last one. In a future war there would be small comfort in that.

If disarmament efforts should fail and a war eventually start, Soviet bombers in all probability would by-pass Copenhagen, Brussels, Rome, London, Bonn and Paris to strike at New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Hartford and Chicago. Our NATO allies, already battered by two world wars, would be handed ultimatums calling upon them promptly to announce their neutrality or face total atomic destruction. To people who have barely dug their way clear from the wreckage brought by the obsolete weapons of World War II, the smoking ruins of American and Russian cities would lend a terrible validity to such a threat. One thing that Europe is determined *not* to be is a battlefield.

If the strain on our NATO alliance of a total nuclear defense strategy in Europe is great, in Asia it can bring us to the breaking point. To settle for the view that, faced with a marginal aggression in Asia or the Middle East, we must launch a nuclear war or accept humiliating retreat under local pressure would be disastrous.

Step by step this position would lead to the collapse of our alliances and to our eventual isolation on this continent—which would mean that our adversary had achieved by our own ineptness his central political objective. It would, of course, be at least equally disastrous if we fail to maintain the ability to fight a nuclear war to victory to the degree that victory in such a war is possible.

Our postwar military history shows an alternative to "massive

retaliation" as a way of dealing with local wars. We have assigned this mission to the conventional forces of ourselves and our allies. In Korea, at terrible human cost, but at infinitely less cost than that of a third world war, we finally repelled Communism by local and limited resistance.

But the policy of local resistance to local aggression has not always succeeded. In Indochina, much of the French Army was committed over a period of seven years. In the end, the situation had disintegrated so badly, that we decided not to send our ground forces even into limited battle. A comparison of these two theaters of local war in Korea and Indochina dramatically highlights the conditions under which we can expect to make successful resistance with conventional forces.

In Korea there was a line, the 38th parallel, strategically defensible, to which the world, through the UN, was previously committed politically. In Korea, direct organized overt aggression was reported by a UN Commission on the spot. Six hundred thousand Nationalist Koreans fought with courage and growing competence at our side. A narrow peninsula with a front of only 150 miles and a near-by privileged military sanctuary of our own in Japan enabled our sea and air power to play an important, if not decisive role. On both flanks our sea power remained unmolested, either by submarines or enemy air attacks.

In Indochina there was no militarily defensible line comparable to the 38th parallel. Instead the French had to rely on a series of hedgehog bases in a largely hostile territory, of which Dienbienphu was typical, and mechanized patrolling activities along major lines of communication.

More important, as we have seen earlier, there was in Indochina no line which was defensible in the court of world opinion. The presence of a white Western power attempting to cling to its imperial role made for sharp differences of view among the non-Communist powers—differences which were also reflected in American opinion.

The Indochinese people, denied the right to an independent government or even to convincing internal reforms under a colonial government, varied in attitudes from indifference to open opposition. The very factors which deprived France of effective indigenous troops with which to oppose the Communists, provided Ho with an

abundance of dedicated supporters. The centers of Communist power in Russia and China were not directly engaged, and the American military commitment was limited to the massive delivery of equipment which did not succeed in stopping the Communist forces.

If we assume that an effective and acceptable major disarmament program is likely to evolve slowly if at all, this brief review of the dilemmas of American military policy since World War II leads to three conclusions:

First, the aggressions against which we may have to defend ourselves are of different kinds, and they will require different kinds of forces to meet them. Trying to buy cheap protection on all fronts is an exercise in self-deception. *Both* strategic air forces and highly mobile conventional forces are indispensable, if we are to be able to deal effectively with any overt manifestation of Communist military force.

Second, this need not mean unlimited military expansion or expenditure. On the atomic side, the respective capabilities of the Russian and American air arms will at some stage reach a point where a surplus in numbers of nuclear weapons and the planes with which to deliver them will grow less significant, so long as there are enough deliverable weapons for the certain destruction of key targets in enemy territory. Thus, sufficiency and not superiority may gradually become the ultimate—and less expensive—measure of nuclear security.

The training and use of adequate conventional forces may in many instances be of decisive importance. But if the time comes when the bulk of the people of South Asia or any other vital area decide to throw their support to the Communists, no amount of American military effort rushing in at the late stages of this process of deterioration will be permanently capable of arresting the trend. For instance if the time comes when 200 million bitter and frustrated Africans become determined to expel the 4 million dominant Europeans, jets, tanks and tommy guns will not finally be able to stop them.

Military organization, training and expenditure should reflect these practical limitations, just as they reflect the capabilities of armed strength.

Third, the creation of situations of military strength has rewarded

our diplomacy in Europe in recent years. The line which we drew there in 1947 has not yet been dented or seriously threatened.

In the more complex areas of the Middle East and the arc of free Asia, an equally firm position is required. Here we must also draw a strategic line against any future overt military aggression by either the Soviet Union or Communist China.

That line cannot be casually or rhetorically drawn on the basis of bluff. Hazy and unilateral commitments, undertaken without adequate thought and without allies, even without the serious intention of fully honoring the commitments once taken, are as dangerous as no commitment at all.

If a strategic line in Asia is to have any precision or lasting validity, it must have the firm support of our major allies and if possible the beneficent acquiescence of the leading indigenous non-Communist powers of the region.

Moreover, these sharp lines against overt Communist aggression can and must be drawn without rendering our diplomacy inflexible on certain *ad hoc* issues. Thus the European defense line was clearly drawn in 1948 but the neutralization of Austria was nevertheless negotiated in 1955. Where, as in the Austrian settlement, there appears to be a net advantage to our over-all objectives, we should be prepared to accept changes through negotiation.

Therefore a strategic defense line would provide only the minimum limits for the military containment of Communism, limits which could always be extended if, hopefully, the areas of freedom expand and Communist power contracts, or if areas now dominated by the Red Army can be opened up by negotiation. Although the drawing of this new strategic line is of the utmost importance, we must look on it as a holding operation and little else. It is an essential ingredient in our policy, but it is by no means either the end or the means of total policy. It promises to stop aggression, but only of the external variety—and external aggression is the least likely variety of aggression that we will be called upon to face in the coming years.

Even while drawing this military line we must take other nonmilitary factors into account. If in the process of setting up meaningful lines of defense we give the impression of being militaristic or aggressive, our total world position will be adversely affected. This

is not a simple problem. The same publicity which the armed services feel is necessary for their own morale, public relations and annual budgetary appearances on Capitol Hill may, when reported abroad, create the very impression of trigger-happy militarism which our responsible military leaders are most anxious to avoid.

To be militarily strong without becoming militaristic; to reject the dead end of preventive or invited war; to provide for various military contingencies; to learn to work with our allies in pursuit of strategic objectives without arrogance; to make clear our determination to defend a politically feasible line without appearing to threaten; this is the formidable sum total of the requirements of contemporary American military policy.

* * *

ONE of the most important things that the survey of revolutionary events in this book should have taught us is that, except under the conditions of all-out war, the capacity of military power to shape events is strictly limited. All of the essential military objectives just described, when added together, fall far short of an adequate foreign policy.

A competent police force does not in itself assure a community of goodwill and progress. It simply offers civic leaders an opportunity to create such a community, free from lawless elements bent on destroying the community or manipulating it to their selfish ends. By the same token no military security system, however vast and efficient, can alone assure the peace and sense of orderly progress which the world community must achieve if it is to avoid the twin dangers of War and Class.

"The purpose of military power," said America's great philosopher-strategist, Admiral Mahan, "is to provide time for moral ideas to take root."

Historians will be puzzled why a democratic and religious people like the Americans, two generations after the admiral wrote, have often acted as if military power were still the final objective of policy—why by concentrating so exclusively on military answers to complicated, human, nonmilitary problems, we have shackled our

abilities to deal effectively with the psychological, ideological and economic forces which are so clearly shaping modern society.

"War," said Lenin, "is part of the whole. The whole is politics." Politics in its full implication concerns the organization of the power of the people. It involves military organization, but it also involves ideas, ideologies, parties, governments, economic and social institutions and programs.

It is because Hitler essentially saw war itself as the "whole," and relied almost solely on the armed forces of one nation, that his aggressions were so unattractive to their victims and potential victims, and were eventually defeated by counterforce. To the nine-tenths of the world that was not blond, the new order of Nordic supremacy had no appeal.

It is because Lenin recognized that the "whole is politics," and because he designed a political program of world revolution which included but went beyond Red Armies, that he was a master revolutionary and that his revolution has grown to its present threatening dimensions. The promise, however hollow, of a *World Union of Soviet States* based on equality, and using science and technology to develop the whole world, has a powerful potential appeal everywhere except in the advanced, prosperous, industrial and democratic states of the North Atlantic.

This fundamental difference between the challenge of Nazism and the challenge of Communism, basically a difference in their assessment of the military factor in politics, suggests where our own present analysis of the world situation may be inadequate.

To the extent that the Kremlin has embarked on a career of Napoleonic or Hitlerian militarism, we have recognized the threat and known how to resist it. But to the extent that Communism is a revolutionary world political program, an iceberg of which only the ultimate violent phases show above the surface, our preoccupation with military answers has proved grossly inadequate.

We have learned the central lesson of the 1930's: the futility of appeasing a rising military power. For ten years in Europe, Asia and the Middle East, we have sought boldy to apply that lesson to our problems with the Kremlin. We have been successfully doing the very things which might have prevented World War II had we done them twenty years ago.

The tragedy is that what might have worked to stop Hitler is by no stretch of the imagination sufficient to stop world Communism. History moves, and its age-old challenge of War and Class returns in more formidable shapes.

Today, as we saw at the outset of this book, a common denominator of many recent American attitudes has been a stubborn lack of understanding of what constitutes strength in world affairs. Although we value deeply our own free institutions, we seem to have overestimated the effectiveness of material, military strength, and to have underestimated the strength of people and ideas.

The paradox is heightened by the fact that our limitations of manpower, resources and geography are clearly apparent, while ideas, human sympathy, faith, scientific techniques, persuasiveness, are qualities that we have long had in abundance. Standing at the end of a century of unprecedented political and industrial growth, America should understand best of all the dynamic qualities on which its own greatness was built.

The greatest power anywhere is people. In our age, above all others with its modern communications and propaganda techniques, big ideas and big principles—good or bad—will move people into action.

President Roosevelt was close to the heart of the matter when he proposed his toast at Yalta to "give every man, woman and child on this earth the possibility of security and well-being." But in his effort to find an acceptable basis for peace with Russia, President Roosevelt himself sometimes appeared to emphasize Russo-American power politics until they occasionally seemed to displace the goal of his own Four Freedoms. This too was largely an understandable result of a preoccupation with the military aspects of World War II.

Nevertheless "unconditional surrender," unlike the Fourteen Points, allowed little room for the political dimension. Instead of a repetition of the German internal collapse of 1918, Allied soldiers had to fight their way into the very heart of Germany in 1945. Because ideas were so often neglected, the war may have taken longer than necessary.

When in a wartime conference Stalin cynically asked, "How many divisions has the Pope?" we said that the Moscow leader had a shortsighted view of power and that the spiritual strength of millions

of people would eventually make itself felt. The Catholic Church in Europe has proved its power to resist Communism, and the Kremlin today seems keenly aware that people are the raw material of political action whether it be revolutionary or not.

Can we Americans now afford to become the cynics, who discount people and ideas, and ask how many battalions has the Pope? What greater irony than that the country which built its greatness on individualism should have appeared to place its fundamental emphasis on atomic retaliation, while the capital of so-called dialectical materialism has sought, however cynically, to capture the leadership of a world revolution by winning the minds of men.

Ours is the land that was created out of a faith in people and principles. Have we somewhere along the line lost a firm grip on that faith? To the degree that we have, we are weaker in maturity than we were at our birth. Now that we are heavy-laden with the ornaments of power, we are being pressed to abandon those very traditions which once, in the days of our nation's infancy, made us unique and beloved. Yet if we will look closely we will see that people have been choosing the muddy water of Communism only because they are so thirsty for change. We ourselves have been dangerously tardy in helping them to the clear water of freedom.

Our purpose must once more become what in our greatest moments it has always been, the affirmative task of achieving a democratic world and safeguarding for "every man, woman and child on this earth the possibility of security and well-being."

Behind the crucially important advance lines of our military defense against Communism, and regardless of what Moscow does or fails to do, we must develop a world program which meets the age-old problems of Class and War. When the capitals of the Atlantic nations again offer such a program, their principles will once more become what they were for six centuries—the freeman's wave of the future.

CHAPTER 35

The Uses and Limits of Economic Aid

TODAY inside the City of the Poor the issues of War and Class are underscored by the universal demand for rapid economic progress. Its achievement has become essential to political stability. Thus a world-wide assault on this aspect of the problem of Class is now an integral part of the solution of the problem of War.

At Bandung we saw that on this subject every government in Asia, Africa and South America today is on trial. In the next few years these governments must demonstrate to their people that they can provide not only progress toward political freedom for each individual, but also steady and even spectacular economic growth. Those which fail this test, however honest and anti-Communist, may eventually go under.

Under the best of circumstances, success will not be easy. Demands for higher living standards, for more food, for freedom from disease, for schools and roads, for the damming of rivers to provide irrigation and hydroelectric power, for the expansion of railroads and communications, are catapulting ahead in geometrical progression. Progress in meeting these demands has been arithmetical at best. Although this gap can never be fully closed, it is imperative that a greater effort be made to narrow it.

The obstacles in the way of more rapid progress are great, and one of the most stubborn is lack of capital resources. Whether the country is rich or poor, whether the economy is capitalist, Commu-

nist or Socialist, capital accumulated through savings is the essential motive force which determines the speed with which industry can be expanded and living standards raised.

Today every underdeveloped nation is struggling with the question: Where can the savings be found to push forward development at a pace that will satisfy the impatient people? If a democratic government like India, Burma, the Philippines or Japan piles the taxes too high, it will face defeat at the polls. Yet if it fails to match the progress of the Communist nations such as China, it may be swept aside in revolutionary upheaval.

Economic development has always been a painful process. It was painful in our own country and in England. It has been far more painful in Russia and China, and in the case of China, the pains may soon enter an even more acute stage. We could not eliminate this painful process for the non-Communist underdeveloped countries no matter how much we would like to. Even if we could provide enough money to meet all their capital demands, the difficult adjustment of values and changing social and political patterns would still remain.

We can, however, help those non-Communist nations to ease the pain that goes with growth, and keep it from becoming intolerable. We should begin by recognizing the fact that the methods by which free nations can accumulate capital for development are much more limited today than they were when we were building our own country.

We have seen that the growing American economy in the nineteenth century had certain important assets: (1) very low wages which allowed massive profits, which in turn meant ample savings for investment and expansion; (2) foreign loans which we paid off during the First World War to our European creditors by selling them the military equipment necessary to support their defense of our common civilization; (3) very low-priced raw materials from underdeveloped countries in South America and elsewhere; (4) the unique resources of our own frontier.

Two decades ago, the United States was dedicated to the policy of the Good Neighbor in our relations with the great peoples south of our border who should be our closest friends. Yet today the serious problems of Guatemala are symbolic of many others in Central and South America, and suggest that we have been too con-

cerned with the superficial aspects of friendship, and not enough with the substantive policies that make friendship endure. Freed from a Communist-oriented government, the Guatemalans in many ways have since had a discouraging experience in trying to meet the age-old, pressing, economic problems which produced Communism in their country in the first place.

Britain, in addition to the economic advantage of her colonies, shared with Japan another favorable factor: widespread world trade based on a large and profitable merchant marine which swelled the coffers of domestic prosperity.

Even with all these advantages, the industrialized countries of the nineteenth century built their economies gradually. The industrially underdeveloped countries which are now trying to keep out of the Communist orbit are in a much greater hurry. The political pressures behind them are insistent.

Their governments are also pressed with well-organized demands for higher wages. Outside capital on a major scale, either by loans or grants, is hard to get, and they have no colonies to exploit. Even with the help of heavy taxes they are unable to accumulate the capital savings required to meet the growing political demands for progress.

But why must America provide so much of the necessary assistance? There are many reasons, all of which should be evident from what we have said thus far, and any one or combination of which should be sufficient for a thoughtful citizen of our Republic. Let me summarize them briefly:

Because only as people feel a sense of progress can they develop the indigenous strength and conviction which will inspire them to fight if need be for their own, not our, freedom.

Because the people of the industrially underdeveloped world are hungry for progress, and because when progress is too long delayed they become an easy prey for demagogues.

Because the world is watching with fascination the great economic competition between democratic India and totalitarian China to see which will accomplish the most in the shortest time.

Because our world is becoming constantly smaller and more interrelated and we cannot survive in prosperous isolation, an envied mansion in the midst of a world slum.

Because if the Cold War continues to relax, the competition

between the Communist way of economic development and the democratic way will be intensified and Moscow will have more resources to throw into the conflict.

Because with half of all of the world's industrial production we alone are in a position to render adequate assistance to the non-Communist underdeveloped nations.

Let me add that the idea of economic assistance to people less fortunate than ourselves is far more acceptable throughout grass-roots America than many of our Washington leaders seem able or willing to realize. Anyone who has traveled widely through our country knows how easily this simple concept can be translated with popular approval into positive action. It lies at the very core of the Christian ethic—the brotherhood of man—which prompts the behavior of most Americans in their family and neighborhood and community relationships, and thus it is one of the easiest of all principles for most Americans to understand.

These reasons for the development of an adequate foreign aid program seem to me persuasive. But let me also suggest some common arguments, which I believe should be rejected as invalid and some others which must be accepted as qualifications.

Contrary to the assumptions of some diplomatic and military strategists, foreign aid will not enable us to purchase allies and friends. We can no more buy the loyalty of a free people than we can buy the loyalty of a free individual.

Nor will foreign aid even assure us the gratitude of destitute people in Asia, Africa, or South America. Gratitude like loyalty is not for sale. If we petulantly seek gratitude, we shall assuredly be disappointed.

Neither should the extent of the Communist danger necessarily guide us in our aid appropriations. Must a nation be shot full of Communism before its people are entitled to our help? Are countries without Communists to be crossed off our list regardless of their needs? It would be strange indeed to put such a premium on noisy Communist minorities.

We have also seen that merely filling people's bellies, ridding them of malaria, and teaching them to read and write, is not sufficient in itself to turn them into anti-Communists. Indeed awareness of blatant economic injustice is often a more explosive factor than sheer want. As I suggested in a previous chapter, Asian revo-

lutions are more often led, not by hungry peasants, but by frustrated middle-class intellectuals.

The misery of the billion or more people who rarely get enough to eat must steadily be eased. But the method by which progress is made is as important as progress itself. Unless people develop a sense of participation in their own betterment, a spiritual sense of belonging within their own communities and within a secure society, economic growth may bring more rather than less unrest. Progress cannot be made from the top down. It must grow from the bottom up, largely through the efforts of people determined to help themselves.

Nor will foreign aid, no matter how generous, enable us successfully and permanently to bolster corrupt or feudal governments. Not only will our appropriations often be wasted, but we will lose the support of the promising, young, indigenous, democratic leadership in the process. We cannot save any nation that is not determined to save itself and willing to make substantial sacrifices in the process. Next to colonialism, feudalism is the Communist's most dependable ally.

By recognizing these qualifications carefully, we will find it easier to face up to the legitimate and urgent reasons for foreign aid, and we will at the same time save ourselves many frustrations, irritations and disappointments.

* * *

IN seeking the establishment of growing areas of goodwill, stability and understanding behind our strategic defense line, we must also be careful not to identify "stability" with the political *status quo*. Like riding a bicycle, political stability in revolutionary Asia and Africa can only be achieved by forward movement.

In planning our aid we should therefore make a clear distinction between our opportunities in such places as Vietnam and South Korea, which have been operating under the guns of direct Communist military pressure, and the broader policy opportunities which are open to us in such countries as India, Burma, Pakistan, Japan, Indonesia, and certain parts of Africa.

In the first case, we are shoring up countries which, without our help would probably go under almost immediately. The immediate purpose of our policy is to deny territory to the Communist bloc.

Such holding operations, unfortunately, have accounted for the great bulk of our foreign aid budget. Essential though they are, they only enable us to avoid slipping backward. In order to advance we must face up to the broader, positive opportunities to help build more permanent areas of strength.

Our major peacetime economic investments should go to help those key countries which have the capacity to develop their own resources, their own free governments, their own sense of progress, their own sense of participation, their own sense of belonging to a free world community. As such nations gain confidence they may often disagree with us, and often in our more discouraged moods their criticisms will seem to grow in proportion to the gains they have made.

Nevertheless, we must be mature enough to welcome their progress and to realize that it is the very cockiness which comes from their growing indigenous strength which makes them impervious to Communism or any other outside force. This is a formidable task materially, politically and psychologically.

But the alternative is clear. If the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and the Middle East are not able to work out a close economic association with the world's foremost industrial power, they will move sooner or later into a close economic relation with the world's second industrial power. And in Asia, as elsewhere, politics usually follows economics.

Persuasive Russian trade representatives are already peddling their wares throughout Europe and Asia. A sizable Soviet Point Four Program is being developed in Afghanistan.

When I was in India in March, 1955, negotiations were under way for a million-ton steel mill to be built with a Soviet loan on easy terms. The Indians' request for similar help had previously been rejected by us. Plans called for some three hundred Indians to go to Moscow for training and to work on the plans. "That means," said the now tactful Russians to the Indians, "that the mill will be really built and planned by you."

In June, 1955, Premier Bulganin pointedly complimented Nehru

on India's development program during their public speeches in Moscow. I would be surprised if further Soviet aid based on technical assistance and favorable loans did not follow.

The political implications of this developing phase of Soviet policy are of profound importance. For 180 years the people of Asia, Africa and South America have looked at America not only as the stronghold of democratic freedom and individual opportunity but as a dynamic example of the power of free institutions to soften economic injustice and to create an expanding society.

In the coming years as part of their "new look," we must assume that the Soviet will offer extremely persuasive proof to the underdeveloped, uncommitted world that under Communism the economic pace, at least, can be spectacular, and that Russia stands ready to help those nations which will accept her help. Although the political price of Soviet beneficence may be high, it would be folly to discount the skill with which it will be presented or its attraction for newly independent people desperate for progress.

* * *

WE have already discovered that the complex problems of economic development are interrelated. For instance, lower American tariffs and increased trade would help greatly to reduce the amount of direct foreign aid that the Middle World requires for its essential economic progress. The underdeveloped nations should pay for that progress as far as possible, and with few exceptions they would prefer it that way.

But there are only two ways that they can get dollars: First, they can earn them by selling us things which we need, and spend the proceeds on American-made machinery, equipment, and bulldozers which they need, and on the hiring of American technicians. Second, they can get the dollars they need for these purchases through American grants and loans.

Thus the easier we make it for other nations to sell part of their production to us, the fewer grants and loans they will require from us. Moreover the higher their living standards rise, the more goods they will be able to buy from American manufacturers.

The question of tariff policy is one that affects critically, not only

the underdeveloped countries, but developed nations like Japan. The Japanese Government is desperately seeking the trading outlets which a modern, industrial island nation needs to survive. Memories of the pre-war Chinese market for Japanese goods remains vivid in Japan, as I discovered repeatedly in talks with Japanese businessmen in Tokyo. Unless American policy can supply an effective alternative, trade among China, Russia and Japan will grow in the coming years. With it may come other important economic and strategic ties, and new pressures toward neutralism.

Since the end of the war we have subsidized the Japanese economy on a large scale, first directly with dollar grants, and more recently indirectly by such means as payments for services to American troops based there. At best these expedients are shaky.

Another alternative is to allow major tariff concessions to Japanese products in American and other Western markets, so that Japan can earn the dollars she needs by selling to us. The efforts to negotiate a reciprocal trade agreement with Japan represents a step in that direction, but progress is bound to be slow.

The reason why it is slow is evident to anyone with a speaking acquaintance with American political life. As Governor of a state, I saw at first hand the formidable domestic pressures that can develop in opposition to lower tariffs. The serious dislocations which may occur in certain communities because of abrupt tariff changes can be ignored by Senators and Congressmen only at considerable peril to their political futures. To them the argument that the increased foreign purchases made possible by a more liberal trade policy will strengthen our own economy is usually unconvincing. Such gains, they point out, always seem to occur in someone else's state or district.

The world problem nevertheless remains, and in one way or another we must ultimately face it. If it is politically impossible for us to permit other nations to sell us enough to earn their essential dollars, then we must provide them with the dollars through some form of subsidy.

We should frankly recognize this, however, as a *double* subsidy. The American people as consumers are first forced to pay a higher price for the American equivalent of the goods which they might buy more cheaply from a foreign manufacturer. Then because we have prevented the foreign exporter from earning dollars here, the

American people as taxpayers must bail his government out of its resulting economic difficulties.

Private investment in the underdeveloped countries is an appealing alternative. But the fact is that it hasn't happened on the scale that is necessary. Since the war, private investment in the United States has averaged $46 billion annually. During this same period our total overseas investment was only $1 billion annually. Most of this was in Europe and Canada, and it came largely from profits earned in those countries by American corporations.

If we eliminate American oil expansion in South America and Saudi Arabia, American private investment in the underdeveloped nations totals scarcely $1 billion in the entire ten-year period.

There are valid and understandable reasons for this meager flow of capital. Political as well as economic conditions in most underdeveloped nations are uncertain. Often there has been unreasoning prejudice against foreign investors based on colonial experience. In some cases tax laws make it difficult to take out a reasonable share of the profits once they are made. There are often nagging bureaucratic difficulties in day-to-day operation.

Our own government should offer every practicable encouragement to American firms interested in expanding their investments overseas, particularly in Asia, South America and Africa where the capital needs are so great. The proposal has been made that our Federal corporation tax on profits earned overseas be reduced by 14 per cent and that this tax should be collected only when the profits are brought to this country. Why not increase this tax break to 25 per cent or even 50 per cent to help get more American capital flowing abroad?

But even under ideal conditions the total investment that is required would be too great for private capital and the profit opportunities too limited and uncertain. Such basic primary needs as increased electric power, adequate port facilities, more efficient railroads and improved communications must largely be created with government funds. Only after these foundations have been built can we expect really inviting opportunities for private investment to be opened up.

These foundations are essential for any country's transition to sustained economic growth. As the transition is made, the need for outside assistance will subside. But meanwhile we must come to

grips with the fact that in most underdeveloped nations, direct governmental loans and grants on a substantial scale are essential for an adequate rate of progress.

This in turn means public funds from this country and its principal European allies, committed in advance over a period of years. The need for such funds, and the difficulties which would grow out of our refusal to provide them, will increase significantly as development plans take hold and these nations are able to absorb capital investments more rapidly.

Under no circumstances can the total amount of money required be more than a small fraction of the American defense budgets of recent years. At the same time, the sums needed are considerably in advance of any proposals that have been seriously made by any administration, either Democratic or Republican, since the dramatic announcement of the Point Four concept by President Truman in January, 1949.

* * *

EVEN with increased expenditures, how can we make sure that our funds are employed where most effective? Between 1951 and 1955 I have had a valuable opportunity to study the operation of our own economic programs and those of the United Nations and the Colombo Plan, in all countries of non-Communist Asia and in much of Africa. Some conclusions about the essentials of sound development activity seem to me very clear.

Of first importance is a comprehensive over-all development plan for the particular country, carefully related to its needs and resources, and fitting the individual projects into the general program. Without such a plan, individual projects are likely to be ill-conceived, badly timed, too costly, and often unproductive.

An effective development plan must start with two essential features before it tackles the more ambitious problems of industrial development. *First,* it must provide for the full mobilization of the country's own economic resources. This means, principally, that the tax system must be equitable and strenuously enforced. It requires controls on foreign exchange expenditures so that fertilizer and bulldozers will receive priority over French perfume and custom-

built sport cars. It means reasonable emphasis on the development of natural resources which can earn foreign exchange.

Second, a good development plan must include measures which will result in an early, clearly recognizable improvement in the standard of living of the people of the country. Rapid and often drastic land reforms are essential in every country where serious land tenure problems prevail. Emphasis on health and education programs, especially if geared into a broad village-to-village community development effort such as India's, are also effective means for touching the people with the new benefits of development.

Only by such efforts can the enthusiasm and energy of the people be released and turned into constructive channels rather than into impatience, violence and despair. Yet this presents American policy makers with an important dilemma. How can we assure the essential conditions for sound economic development without interfering in the domestic affairs of the assisted nation to an extent which is distasteful to us, and which will lay us open to charges of imperialism, domination and bad faith from those who suspect our motives?

This dilemma is not so sharp as it may seem at first glance. As we saw at Bandung most of the leaders of the underdeveloped countries are anxious to achieve balanced and wholesome development in the sense we have just discussed. There already is a good deal of expert knowledge on how this must be done—in the UN and its agencies, in the Colombo Plan, in the internal experience of the underdeveloped countries themselves, in our own Point Four files, and in the studies of a number of private agencies which have been active in the development field.

The underdeveloped countries have generally shown themselves eager to take advantage of this accumulated information and experience. Thus the general direction being taken by many of the underdeveloped countries is often the one which a sound American policy ought to encourage. There are of course a number of glaring exceptions.

This task of influencing foreign development without dominating foreign politics will require from us not only capital, but highly trained, sensitive people both in Washington and in foreign assignments. Although we have a number of well-qualified people in these positions now, too little thought has been given to the need for systematic recruiting and training.

Frequently, individuals who may be technically well trained arrive on the scene with little understanding of the language, customs, history and tradition of the people with whom they are to work. We must actively seek to recruit able, dedicated personnel—Americans and others—who are enthusiastic about the prospects of development work in the particular country where they will be stationed.

A special government or foundation supported school, attached to a major American university, could do much to prepare people for foreign assignments. Here men and women who are attracted by this exciting new frontier career could receive both the technical training they need in agriculture, health, education, sanitation, industrial development and engineering, and also the broader economic, political and cultural backgrounds which are essential to the success of their mission. For many reasons, such a school should not neglect the wives.

Another important way in which the United States can successfully influence development without evoking hostility and resentment is through the activities of private industrial, religious and charitable groups. Many of these, like the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations have already made valuable contributions in many parts of the underdeveloped world.

In India under the outstanding leadership of Douglas Ensminger, the Ford Foundation has played a particularly important role. I know that high officials of the Indian Government agree that its contributions to village development, small industries and education have been invaluable. The importance of the Rockefeller Foundation's efforts in the field of public health has been widely acknowledged.

The United Nations specialized agencies also have a big role to play—the Children's Fund, UNESCO, World Health Organization, Food and Agricultural Organization, International Labor Office and the UN Technical Assistance Administration deserve our continuing support. In many countries aid under UN auspices is enthusiastically accepted while bilateral aid is still viewed with suspicion. Though their funds have been pitifully small, the work of the UN agencies has won wide respect and confidence among the world's underdeveloped peoples.

In the debates on making UN development projects even more effective, America, unhappily, has at times assumed a negative role.

These debates have revolved around two proposals, stoutly supported by all the underdeveloped countries as well as by most of the experts who have been closest to the requirements.

These are, first, the creation of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, SUNFED, which would be used for financing needed capital projects in the underdeveloped countries on a grant basis; and, second, increased and liberalized lending authority either in the World Bank or a special Development Bank to support projects from which repayment would be expected.

The capital involved in these proposals totaled about $350 million, about half of which would have been subscribed by the United States. In 1954 we modified our position on the second proposal, but we have maintained a consistent coolness to SUNFED.

The use of UN machinery takes on new significance in Africa, for there the responsibility of the international organization through the Trusteeship Council extends in more or less direct form to much of the continent. Here is an unmatched opportunity for giving the United Nations tasks of a scope and responsibility commensurate with the high hopes which were entertained for it.

As a consistent friend and supporter of the United Nations, however, let me add that some of the specialized agencies have a long distance to travel before they are prepared adequately to meet their full responsibilities. Overlapping authority, petty jealousies and rampant bureaucracy have on many occasions stood in the way of effective administration.

In all of its economic and social efforts a well-managed United Nations can perform an invaluable service in reassuring the City of the Poor that the vexing problems of Class can be met by co-operative and democratic methods. Economic development, let me emphasize again, must always be pursued in such way that at the end we shall have not just another age of healthier, contending, national states, but viable, fledgling democracies, linked together with common ties of economic interest.

The increased pursuit of this challenging task could give flesh and blood and muscles to the United Nations. Through such means it could be made the organ of our common hopes. By helping to channel the various national assaults on Class, the UN would come to its own aid in the simultaneous assault on War. The two problems are tied together, and in the end they may stand or fall together too.

Even more specialized international groups than the UN have important advantages as channels for the distribution of American economic aid. Experience with the Marshall Plan has demonstrated that regional bodies, on which the assisted nations are effectively represented, can, if given our full support, become exacting overseers of the programs of the constituent countries.

In the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, a permanent staff reviewed all the activities to which Marshall Plan funds were committed. Annual meetings analyzed reports on general economic progress, laid out requirements for future programs, and insisted on high standards of administration and follow-through.

A comparable body for Asia exists in the Colombo Plan organization, originally made up of British Commonwealth nations, but since extended to include every non-Communist country east of the Indian Ocean. The United States has been accepted into membership, and in a formal sense co-ordinates its technical and economic assistance activities in the region with the organization.

Yet the link has been more verbal than real. In practice we have given the Colombo Plan no significant responsibility in the allocation or review of American development expenditures.

The Organization of American States provides a similar opportunity for regional administration of Latin-American economic development funds. Here again progress has been stymied by the consistent United States refusal to consider significant expansion of its economic efforts in this hemisphere.

The closer we can come to developing broader responsibility for economic aid the more effective our efforts will be. However, in one way or another the challenge must be met on a sizable scale, and over a period of years. If it is politically impossible at this stage to administer assistance primarily through such international agencies, let us at least use our Export-Import Bank which in 1955 had more than $2 billion of authorized idle capital.

* * *

ENOUGH has been said to indicate the breadth and variety of ways in which America, the world's foremost industrial nation, can help to meet the economic challenge of our day. Our

survey of world revolutions has shown us that among awakening peoples in many lands the old economic order has long since lost its romantic appeal, and is now rapidly losing its roots. For most of these people, America at one time or another in their recent history has been an ideal of economic opportunity which they have admired and sought to emulate.

The basic philosophy of government held, however tentatively, by people in most of these underdeveloped areas is still oriented toward democracy and the West. If the Communist alternative eventually wins, it will be because the methods and procedures of America and the Atlantic nations have been rejected as inadequate to the central business of development that these countries now demand.

Some good starts have been made, and it would be calamitous for us to falter in mid-passage. America alone has the resources and capacity, the techniques and skills to provide that critical margin of economic help which in the long run may spell success or failure for the hundreds of millions of people around the world who are striving to achieve or to maintain their freedom.

But economics like defense is only one of the dimensions of peace. A competent diplomacy that recognizes the political realities of our age is another.

CHAPTER 36

The Politics of Peace

As the post-Stalinist thaw in Soviet diplomacy becomes evident, the inadequacy of America's concentration on military answers has come sharply into focus. It is also obvious that even a vastly stepped-up economic aid program, essential though it is, will not alone redress this inadequacy. In 1955 Moscow and even Peking seemed to be heavily shifting their emphasis from a reliance on heavy-handed Cold War bluster to winning people through ideas—propaganda, promises, slogans and amiable diplomatic behavior.

Moreover, the importance of this new emphasis was underscored by what looked like a drastic shift in Moscow's immediate diplomatic objectives. One of the two superpowers of the bipolar American-Russian world seemed to be systematically setting out to depolarize world politics.

The new Soviet leadership appeared to be considering the reduction of Russia's sphere of domination in return for the broadest possible help of neutralized buffer states on the borders of the USSR, for normalized relations with former enemies like Germany and Japan, and for the predictable goodwill from abroad which would flow from a less ferocious Soviet diplomatic posture.

For reasons that we have already examined, this switch in Soviet policies may reflect many political and economic factors without necessarily adding up to a fundamental change in Soviet motives or intentions. "The policy and practice of the Russian Government," said Lord Palmerston a century ago, "have always been to push

forward its encroachments as fast and as far as the apathy or want of firmness of other governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with decided resistance."

If a careful testing period demonstrates, however, that Soviet policy for whatever reasons really wants to liquidate the Cold War, American policy would be foolhardy to try to keep it going. We did not start it. We have never wanted it. If by any chance a practical settlement on specific issues can now be made, we should assuredly not be the ones to prevent it. If the paraphernalia of the Cold War can gradually be dismantled, so much the better for the world and for our principles—even though the switch may put those principles to a tougher test in the dynamic coexistence that will then inevitably ensue.

If war is the extension of diplomacy by other means, and if the liquidation of wars, both hot and cold, is now the first item on the diplomatic agenda, we need to set out some guideposts for our diplomacy itself. For despite the essential military and economic aspects of our foreign policy, diplomacy remains at the core of the conduct of foreign relations. Its usages and practices are still the ways in which difficulties and tensions among nations are resolved, short of war.

Agenda for Diplomacy

The United States lacks the advantage of the diplomatic tradition which has accumulated around the British Foreign Office. In any event, it is unlikely that our free-for-all democratic tradition would tolerate such extensive and autonomous activity by a professional elite. To a greater degree than in England, American diplomacy is in the public domain.

Faced with that fact, a first requirement of our diplomacy—as of all our international efforts—must be a clear understanding of our objectives. These objectives must be feasible. Although they must endeavor to command the support of a sizable majority of Americans, they must be more than an undigested compromise of our many diverse preconceptions and prejudgments. They must be grounded in a combination of intelligent leadership and democratic discussion.

As Communist tactics become more flexible, we need all the more to re-examine and clarify our objectives in regard to world

Communism. Obviously we do not like it, and we would prefer to see it disappear. Yet as we have seen, deliberately to set out to destroy it by force would call for aggressive military measures which the vast majority of Americans rightly reject.

Ultimately we must face up to the plain but vexing question: on what basis are we prepared to live in peace with the Soviet Union and Communist China?

America has been coexisting with dictatorships throughout its history. Although Czarist Russia was a notorious autocracy, it was often on friendly terms with the United States. Many of the South American nations that vote most enthusiastically with us in the United Nations are dictatorships, as are several of our allies, including Spain, Portugal, Thailand, Formosa and South Korea.

This suggests that it is not dictatorship as such which threatens us, much as we may disapprove of it, but a totalitarianism which seeks to extend its control over its neighbors by overt aggression or subversion.

Communist doctrine, as we have seen, insists that the struggle between the Communist and democratic worlds is never-ending and that eventually it must end in the destruction of one or the other. On various occasions Soviet leaders have maintained that the "inevitable" collapse of the capitalistic world must eventually come through an armed struggle. At other times they have taken the more moderate view that since it is part of the inevitable process in accordance with the law of Marx, it will happen in due time anyway, and there is no particular need to help history along.

If our strategic line against Communist military aggression is firmly held over a period of years, if the two-thirds of the world which is not Communist is gradually drawn together in a broad area of economic and political co-operation, and if the rate and manner of progress is such as to discourage internal subversion, then a new generation of Communist leaders may decide to accommodate theory to facts. They have done it before.

In the meantime we can expect to see many diplomatic variations among the themes of Communist foreign policy, in a world eager for detachment from nuclear Cold War politics. In the new climate that surrounded the Geneva Conference, these variations have already enabled the world to breathe more easily and relax from the immediate fear of war.

What contribution can American diplomacy make to bring us closer to a more stable world if time demonstrates convincingly that the Soviet is serious in its new attitudes? At a minimum we must systematically clarify in our own minds an acceptable basis for settlement, the calculated risks we can justifiably take, and the positive responses we can responsibly make to test Soviet intentions and to produce, where possible, honest and mutual agreement. One thing at least is certain. A policy of unconditional surrender can be as costly to our efforts to ease the tensions of the Cold War as it was to our effort to end World War II.

As American and Russian diplomacy enter an era of "competitive coexistence," each will be competing for the attention and sympathy of the great jury of the uncommitted world. That jury will be making constant assessments of our motives, based on the net impression made by our diplomatic behavior.

If we are tempted to strike poses for domestic political consumption at the risk of alienating world opinion, let us remember the sage advice that the British statesman, Castlereagh, once gave to Lord Liverpool in the days of the Congress of Vienna: "Our business is not to collect trophies, but to bring back the world to peaceful habits."

If we are tempted to sound an arrogant note at international forums, let us remember also that another British diplomat once pointed out in a different but relevant context that diplomacy consists of knowing clearly what you want, knowing what your opposite number wants, and then expressing what you want in terms of what he wants.

One of America's essential diplomatic tasks has now become one of harmonizing our approach and our interpretations as far as possible with those of other non-Communist nations. In recent years our record in this regard has not been high. A fundamental concept of American diplomacy must be by advance consultation to associate all other non-Communist nations with our diplomatic efforts, however informally. If the Soviet Union or Communist China then stands in the way, the rebuffs will not be isolated ones for us to suffer alone. Our failure to achieve mutually agreed-upon objectives then becomes the associated failure of the entire free world.

This in turn means that the objectives which we seek must be stated in terms which appear feasible and reasonable to a wide range

of objective persons. They should not be presented in a manner obviously designed to embarrass the Soviet Union or Communist China, but in a manner designed to make consent and compromise easier and to free the Communist leaders, where possible, from their own captivity in "double-think" psychology which so long has led them to talk as though peace and world Communist dominion were consistent objectives. We can help clarify Communist policy by making our own more explicit and broadly based.

Our major proposals should be carefully discussed, not only with our allies, but to the maximum possible extent with those key nations who are attempting to remain aloof from the present struggle. The process of negotiations can never be precisely forecast and much will depend on the abilities, personalities and sensitiveness of those who are responsible for the development of policy and for its implementation.

* * *

AN essential objective of American diplomacy during the new period of Soviet flexibility will be the maintenance of our European alliances under new Russian pressure. These alliances were built at great cost, and they are worth maintaining at considerable further cost. Consequently we must pay particular attention to the points of difference and irritation between America and other nations of the North Atlantic basin.

Examples from Europe which illustrate the materials for Allied dissension upon which the Kremlin may hope to capitalize would surely include the following:

1. Our NATO allies share a terribly exposed position in the age of thermonuclear weapons. Their very geographical position dictates a prime objective of their diplomacy. It is an objective which many of them feel America's less exposed position has permitted us sometimes to forget: the primary importance of relaxing tensions in world affairs.

2. The foreign ministries of Europe, accustomed to the steady, undramatic methods of secret diplomacy and professionalism in the conduct of foreign policy, have been ready to reel over the unpredictable fluctuations of American policy, our devotion to slogans, and the unilateral release of documents like the Yalta papers.

3. Such influences as McCarthyism and the crude application of the McCarran Act have dangerously distorted the American image in the press of many European as well as Asian capitals—so far that American popularity itself at times has seemed to be inversely dependent on such uncertainties as their fluctuating degrees of friendliness and animosity toward Mao's China.

4. Many Europeans and non-Communist Asians think that in recent years London, in contrast to Washington, has brought to the making of high policy a calm objectivity and a willingness to face facts. More and more they have been looking to Britain for leadership, and Prime Minister Eden's international rescue work as Foreign Secretary during the crises over Indochina and EDC did nothing to diminish the reputation of British diplomacy. Its quiet self-assurance has retained for the Foreign Office the mingled confidence and jealousy of most foreign observers. At Geneva in July, 1955, President Eisenhower started to redress the balance.

5. The Europeans incline to view the UN as a forum for compromising conflicting interests, while we at times seem to view it exclusively as an instrument to oppose aggression. These variations are obviously reflected in contrasting attitudes on the admission of Red China and other nations still seeking UN membership.

These points of difference are suggestive of the tasks confronting American diplomacy in its effort to build positive structures of peace and progress behind our strategic frontier.

Domestic pressures in Western Europe will also increasingly tend to obscure Allied politics as Soviet pressure relaxes.

The Germans face an uncharted future once Adenauer leaves the chancellorship. Their perpetual political problem of energetic instability remains unsettled, and the dangerous question of a partitioned Germany in the heart of Europe cannot stay forever unresolved.

A mutually acceptable arrangement must also be struck, satisfactory to all NATO allies, which will allow increased capital investments in the essential modernization of the French and Italian economies. For the citizens of these two countries in a period that suggests a change from Cold War to a Cold Peace, domestic economic problems may increasingly tend to displace the priorities of foreign policy. The critical housing problem in metropolitan France

will permit no further governmental indifference. Redistribution of land in southern Italy is a political problem that demands vigorous attention without further delay.

Under domestic pressures of this sort and in the face of a diminishing Cold War threat, America may expect demonstrations of European uneasiness over the economic costs of defense. Critics will say that while the resources of their country are sapped in a seemingly endless and less urgently needed military program, the dangers of Communist-led social discontent at home will become more and more serious.

To the extent that they boldly advocate the economic and social reforms which in much of Europe have been too long delayed, European governments will have a persuasive case. Many astute observers believe that the one thing required to bring about the ultimate collapse of the Communist parties in Western Europe is a competent, genuine, left-of-center effort to achieve a more reasonable distribution of the fruits of production.

American diplomacy must anticipate these new measures, and cushion them wherever possible by encouraging the gradual integration of Europe, politically and economically, and by associating ourselves imaginatively and constructively with that integration whenever and however that seems appropriate. The breadth and vision of its Charter permits NATO itself to reflect the shifting political pressures as the military danger lessens.

Europe, America and Colonialism

No one would deny Europe the right to be preoccupied with her own problems. Resolving them has almost as great a priority for America as for Europe itself. But it cannot be stressed too often that the world revolution is pressing in upon us all, and it affects European policies internally and externally, just as it affects our own.

The revolution is reflected internally in all the manifold—and often unsatisfied—demands that the less privileged people of Europe have themselves been making upon their governments since the war.

It is reflected externally in the complicated adjustment which Europe's vested interest in the outside world has had to make, or has failed to make, in response to the decay of colonialism. In the

context of our efforts to maintain the Grand Alliance, the European attitude on colonialism presents another problem of the first order for American diplomacy.

We have already emphasized the relevance of the American Revolutionary tradition to our standing in the colonial world. Carlos Romulo stated the challenge bluntly: "America, child of revolution, seeing its revolutionary inheritance handed on to Asia, cannot see it lost by default to Soviet Russia.

"To get closer to the heart of Asia," he continued, "America must use its own heart more. The peoples of Asia will respond with understanding and sympathy to the freedom-loving, the generous-hearted, the deeply humane America of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. On the other hand nothing will more surely repel them than an America that carelessly allows its escutcheon to be blemished by the sins of its European allies."

We should not forget, of course, that the leading colonial powers —France and Britain—have fathered, no less than America has, the revolution now sweeping the Southern continents.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was the historic slogan of French Revolutionary origin, and so strongly has it been identified with the nation of its birth that men everywhere have known what Jefferson meant when he remarked, "Every man has two countries, his own and France."

At a time when French colonial policies often seem tragically inept and decadent, it is still pertinent to remind ourselves that France was once the central inspiration for world revolt. When foreigners were invited to appear before the French Constituent Assembly, a Prussian named Anacharsis Cloots, introduced as the "Spokesman of the human race," said passionately, "When I lift my eyes to a map of the world, it seems to me that all the other countries have disappeared, and I see only France, regenerator of peoples."

If France seems to have neglected her heritage somewhere in the bankrupt colonialism of Indochina and North Africa, the French tradition can still be found today as an ironic inspiration on the revolutionary bookshelves of Saigon and Casablanca. And despite the discouraging aspects of French colonial policy, let us always remember that racism is a blight of which Frenchmen have never been accused.

Less dramatic than the French Revolutionary heritage, but far more steady, has been the gradual identification of English political practice too with the hopes of the new world revolution.

If Americans are proud of their own model colonial revolt against England, they should remember that they were "never more English" than when they shook England's soil from their feet, "angrily writing out their protest" so that all the world could see—or when they raised the old cry of Hampden, "No taxation without representation," and when they dumped the tea in Boston Harbor.

Among the achievements of British democracy is that unique aspect of current world affairs found in the freely expanding "Commonwealth," whose very name was taken from Cromwell's earlier revolutionary chapter in English history. This recent advance in British political thinking has been reflected in the application of Britain's democratic principles in her own "creative abdication" from South Asia, the Sudan and the Gold Coast.

Enough has been said of the frequent tact and wisdom of postwar British policy to make it clear that the colonial issue is not reducible to a simple question of a righteous revolt against an obstinate imperial power. The transition from empire to commonwealth is not only a policy of decent withdrawal when the time has come, but one of affirmative consultation and co-operation.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the attention the British Foreign Office gives to the views of the South Asian members of the Commonwealth, and in the splendid joint economic effort of the Colombo Plan. We should recognize of course that this situation involves an adjustment to a new status for the colonial power, just as it does for the ex-colony.

Nevertheless the pace for the colonial liquidation, which inevitably lies ahead, will not be set in Europe. We have seen that the whole might of France, supported lavishly by American assistance, was insufficient to maintain its postwar grip on Indochina, that the Netherlands found her struggle to hold the rich East Indies a losing proposition, and that Britain avoided a series of bloody civil wars only by the dignity and skill with which she extricated herself from India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma.

The remaining colonial areas pose a challenge to American policy makers which must be met but which has not yet been met. To visiting Americans, accustomed at home during political campaigns

to hear about the "liberation" of satellite peoples, the African sometimes asks bitterly, "Why not begin with me?"

In Asia, too, I have heard men say: "If you Americans seek to liberate the nations dominated by Russia, the result may be war. But there are twice as many people waiting to be liberated from the Colonial domination of your NATO allies. Here there would be no risk of war," the refrain continued, "and your influence might well be decisive. Can it be that the dark-skinned Africans have less appeal to your liberating conscience than the white-skinned Poles?"

On the issue of colonialism, it is doubtful whether even the dramatic lesson of Indochina has been seriously absorbed. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations committee in May, 1955, I said that our good faith would not be accepted in Africa and Asia until we took a clear position on the subject of colonialism.

There were nods of general agreement, but one Senator spoke up to say: "Yes, but isn't this really an academic question? Europe is determined to hang on to her colonies and our own security system is bound to Europe and NATO. If we take an independent position in opposition to colonialism, our whole military security system will fall apart."

This suggests that unity on all questions has become an end in itself, and that we must willy-nilly accept the views of our colony-controlling allies even though this involves the abandonment of our principles on an issue where compromise, however well intended, has already cost the free world dearly.

If this were really required of us, the prospects for the future of Western civilization would be grim indeed. In the coming years the Soviet Union and Communist China would win the leadership of the City of the Poor by default. Toynbee's warning about the lethal effect on a civilization of the unresolved issue of Class would take on a dramatic significance.

But this also assumes something which no thoughtful American who understands and respects Europe's past achievements and potential power can readily accept: that neither Frenchmen nor Europeans in general are capable of reading the clear lessons of recent history.

One of the principal tasks of American diplomacy in the coming years is tactfully, reasonably, intelligently and understandingly to

ease the adjustment which clearly must be made by the colonial powers. Paradoxically, it is this very adjustment on which the future greatness of Europe itself so largely depends.

Many Europeans speak nostalgically of their past, assume that the present may be tolerable, but seem convinced that the future will be impossible. Yet it seems clear that Europe should have every reason, under certain circumstances, to look forward to the future with responsible new hope. Those circumstances may largely depend upon the direction of events in Africa, the next continent of revolution.

For instance, Belgium in her own right is a small power with eight million dynamic, competent people. But Belgium in partnership with the Congo, an area half the size of the United States and for all we know with half of our resources, may eventually emerge as a major power.

Here, however, is the vital point: Unless Belgium eventually goes into partnership with the twelve million Africans of the Congo, this role will be denied her. It will not always be enough to see that the Africans are well fed, well clothed, well paid and well cared for. Sooner or later they will demand the dignity that goes with equal political rights, and those demands must be met.

Many thoughtful Belgians understand this. On June 22, 1955, at the UN conference at San Francisco, Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, said, "This conference has fully convinced me that the complete equality of all races with all of its natural consequences has become a reality. Any contemporary statesman who refuses to admit this will make many mistakes."

Africa offers France a similar opportunity for an expanding creative partnership with the 25 million people and the rich resources of French West Africa, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.

Surely it cannot be beyond the resources of European and American imagination to develop programs of action which take account of the complexities of the different colonial situations, and yet represent an unmistakable commitment to early self-rule. We achieved this in the Philippines, and the British have done likewise in South Asia, and now in the Sudan and West Africa. If solutions of comparable goodwill and restraint cannot be developed elsewhere in the colonial world, only one thing is certain: instead of

the promise of India, Burma, Ceylon and the Philippines the Atlantic nations will eventually be faced with a worldwide catastrophe far more devastating in its implications than that of Indochina.

* * *

THE fact that our position occasionally differs from that of our Atlantic allies should be mutually understandable. We should not hesitate to disagree with them when after sober consideration we are confident that they are out of step with the realities of today's world. Our apparent readiness to accept their position in the past, however reluctant it may have been, has hurt us grievously in Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

What we Americans must do is emphatically and meaningfully to change our public image as seen by colonial peoples. We must seize the recurring opportunities to re-establish our anticolonial heritage. Our diplomatic behavior must demonstrate as tangibly as possible that we are honestly and seriously committed to the proposition on which our nation was created—that all people deserve democratic self-government as soon as they are reasonably qualified for it.

The policies we adopt should at the same time be totally responsible, tactful and in line with the realities of the conditions which exist in both Africa and Europe today. I would suggest that the pattern of our policies for Africa, the remaining colonial continent, should contain at least the following points:

1. Let us start with the fact that we do not control Africa, that we have no desire to control it and that there is a strict limit to what we can do there.

2. Without pompously lecturing our European friends on their colonial manners, or making a demagogic play for the applause of the African gallery, let us privately and publicly place our influence behind every orderly and responsible proposal that moves toward freedom.

3. For better or for worse, Africans themselves over the long haul will decide the pace toward self-government. However, if America convinces the Africans that we honestly favor their independence as rapidly as they can manage it, we shall be in a position to help

moderate the demands of those Africans who demand more authority than they are yet qualified to use.

4. If the Gold Coast, Nigeria and the Sudan, like India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Burma, develop as free nations in an orderly democratic way, those who are honestly convinced that the African cannot govern himself in the foreseeable future will be forced to modify their views. Everything that America can do to help assure the success of these new, emerging, free West African governments will serve this constructive end. This requires not only economic assistance from our government, but imaginative, tactful help from our private agencies, including foundations and churches.

5. For the same reason we should generously assist those African nations which are already free—Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia and Liberia. Their progress will help determine the pace for others.

6. Before agreeing to support any economic program in Africa, we should scrutinize it carefully to see that it offers full opportunity to people of all races. If we identify ourselves even indirectly with lingering European colonial supremacy in Africa, or with racism in South Africa, our efforts will be self-defeating.

7. We should give Africa a far higher priority in State Department attention. Today we have only a handful of diplomatic missions in Africa. Although I was impressed in 1955 with the ability and earnestness of the personnel, most of them are overworked and responsible for areas well beyond their physical capacities.

8. State Department and United States Information Agency people should be instructed that the primary purpose of their work is to develop close understanding and working relationships with the Africans, and not simply with the small European ruling group at the top. Our information effort in Africa should be stepped up materially and concentrated on reaching the Africans.

9. In the United States itself there are now sixteen million Americans of African descent. In both private and official capacities, we could have no better ambassadors to Africa than these sons of America who are also great-great-grandsons of Africa, as visiting lecturers, teachers, government employees and missionaries.

10. African studies should be given a much higher priority in American universities.

11. An African charter calling for the steady development of

political rights, first local, then regional, then national, should be encouraged with a timetable to suggest the pace of progress toward independence. When such a timetable was proposed in January, 1955, by a subcommittee of the United Nations Trusteeship Council that included an American member, the opposition from British, Belgian, Portuguese and French was prompt and outspoken.

This, however, is a situation which during the ensuing years we must have the courage to face. Within practical limits we should support the United Nations as an instrument for organizing, correlating and encouraging the growth in African progress toward ultimate freedom.

Implicit in our whole discussion of an African policy is the point that American diplomacy must now recognize that the sources of potential power in Africa lie with the Africans, not with their European rulers. In the long run the strategic peoples of this great continent will determine who shall have access to their strategic metals. The same point bears emphasis throughout our total diplomatic effort.

The Poles of Power

In Europe we have long known that the key centers of people and industry were of primary value in orienting our own policy. We have waited and worked patiently until a European defense system embracing both France and West Germany could be achieved. We have seen that this same lesson must soon be applied in the totally different context of Africa.

In Asia we can no longer ignore the primary importance of this same basic principle. Although all of non-Communist Asia must be defended if need be and encouraged in its democratic development, the true poles of potential non-Communist power are India and Japan. Between them they have 455 million people, 20 per cent of the world's population. This is the only effective Asian manpower counterbalance to China's 582 million.

With 75 per cent of Asia's industrial output, millions of skilled and potentially skilled workers, and, in the case of India, ample natural resources, Japan and India constitute the only effective Asian industrial counterbalance to China. With her long religious and cultural heritage, dynamically brought to life in recent years by Gandhi,

India is by far the most significant Asian spiritual and ideological counterbalance to China.

These factors should encourage us to increase our efforts to find common ground between ourselves and strategically placed India and Japan. While living up fully to our other commitments in Asia, we must develop a special priority approach to these two key nations without which a free, stable Asia is impossible.

This involves a shift in the emphasis of the policies which we have followed since Chiang Kai-shek was driven from the Chinese mainland. Our primary Asian military strategy has been based on Formosa, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan, whose combined total population is only 12 per cent of Asia. We have often treated the independent policies of India, Burma and Indonesia with aloofness, if not resentment. At times there has been evidence of a similar coolness toward Japan.

In the Philippines a reform-minded, popular democratic government is moving steadily forward, and in Pakistan a government headed by men of democratic goodwill is trying earnestly to broaden its political base. But in general our test of any regime's qualifications for American support has been its willingness to oppose Communism, and to acept our leadership. Its following, stability and political methods have received secondary consideration, if and when they have been considered at all.

In Asia the row of little flags, pinned on our military maps to indicate the ring of countries that have signed military agreements with us, make an impressive façade. But how long can any of these governments survive under fire unless it faces the challenge of revolutionary Asia and puts its own house in order?

India, as we have seen, is striving to meet her staggering problems through a complete revolution achieved through techniques of democratic leadership, persuasion, compromise and planning. This effort has won the admiration of most Americans who have seen it, and so far compares favorably in results with that of India's unspoken and yet clearly evident rival, Communist China.

Yet the remaining political and economic problems, already discussed in a previous chapter, are formidable. On the success or failure of India in meeting these problems may ultimately depend the stability of all of South Asia and the Middle East.

Anyone who studies the map, people and resources of Asia must agree that it is dangerously immature to brush India aside, wallow in our frustrations over the speeches of Nehru, denounce India as neutralist, and let it go at that. Even if our professional "realists" discount India's surge of democratic faith and her emphasis on ideas and principles borrowed from us, even if they put the entire proposition on the basis of statistical geopolitics in its most limited sense—do they think for one minute that much of free Asia could survive without a free India?

Because of the pressure of internal problems or for other reasons, China may gradually modify her approach to world affairs. If so India may play a part in hastening this modification. In the meantime let us keep our own blood pressure under control when Nehru expounds his own modern version of Washington's farewell warning to avoid a "permanent alliance" with imperialist powers.

Our interests, too, would be promoted if India comes to realize her own responsibility in bringing security to the two crucial areas adjacent to her—the Middle East and Southeast Asia—as we helped bring security to South America 130 years ago through the Monroe Doctrine. We should never lose sight of the fact that our true interest is not to bind the nations of Asia blindly to our leadership, but to encourage them in their own way to create the kind of indigenous growth and dynamic strength which will discourage Communist designs either by overt aggression or by subversion.

If world Communism continues to be as aggressive in the next decade as it was from 1945 to 1955, India, Burma and Indonesia will eventually awake to the danger, and agree to take their stand in clear-cut opposition. If, as seems more likely, the 1955 Soviet thaw continues, the test of our diplomacy will become far more formidable.

In Japan our diplomacy will be tested against somewhat different standards. Here we have military agreements in which we place great faith. We have air bases on Japanese soil which in 1955 were still protected by American infantry. Japan was our essential arsenal and staging base during the Korean War.

But policy makers who believe that we can count on Japan to follow American policy willy-nilly in the next decade indulge in a particularly dangerous kind of wishful thinking. Our bases there were given to the victor by the vanquished. The pressure was tactful and in the interest of Japan's defense, but it was foreign pressure just the

same, and so recognized by most Japanese. Like India, Japan has a strong hankering for a neutralist withdrawal from threats of nuclear conflict.

"The Japanese," General MacArthur once said, "are realists, and they are the only ones who know by dreadful experience the fearful effect of mass annihilation. They realize in their limited geographical area, caught up as a sort of no man's land between two great ideologies, that to engage in another war, whether on the winning or the losing side, would spell the probable doom of their race."

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that neutralism in Japan has increased. It will increase even more, unless Japan can develop more confidence than she now has in our ability to understand the forces that shape Asia.

In emphasizing the paramount importance of India and Japan, I do not mean to imply that we can take other free Asian nations for granted. The Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon, Formosa and South Korea all obviously have their own important roles in affecting America's Asian policy.

If a resurgent democratic government should develop in Formosa, this island could have a particularly constructive role to play. Already on the basis of literacy, land reforms and village electrification, Formosa has one of the highest living standards in Asia. For this reason alone it is almost certain that in a free plebiscite Formosa would refuse to join the impoverished mainland.

If a fair measure of political freedom is introduced, and the seven million native Formosans are given a final say in their own destiny, a dynamic and constructive society may gradually emerge out of the present maze of confusion and bitterness. It is defeatist to say that Formosa must either reconquer the mainland or fall apart and come under Communist domination. There is a third possibility—a free developing nation which eventually could become a symbol of democracy in the Far East, and an inspiration to millions of Chinese on the mainland and elsewhere.

However, American policy makers can never afford to forget that the strategic keys to the future of free Asia are India and Japan, the first so largely by-passed by irritated Americans, the second defeated, uncertain and increasingly unpredictable. Unless these two nations maintain both their independence and their progress, historians may someday describe what we now call "free Asia" as no

more than a brief and passing phase in the upheaval that swept over all of Asia following World War II.

The Image of America Abroad

In an era when people and ideas are on the move, American diplomacy must absorb the fact now that the personal dimension of foreign affairs is also coming increasingly into focus. A growing aspect of our total diplomatic effort unquestionably is the official and unofficial impression foreigners receive of American attitudes, life and talk. Every year thousands of unofficial American ambassadors go abroad on pleasure, business and education. Each makes an impression.

The total impact of these personal impressions goes far to fill in the image of us seen and accepted by others. In comparison to the cumulative effect of these multiplied personal impressions, our official American information effort takes second place.

The accepted cartoon of arrogant, money-worshiping Americans, drinking their way around the world and making enemies as they go, is grossly unfair. In India I discovered that the areas where most Americans were stationed during the war are the very areas where Americans todays are best liked and understood. Nevertheless the lasting damage which a small conspicuous minority of American visitors can cause to the reputation of their country should not be casually dismissed. Both officially and unofficially, we must do all we can to correct it.

On the official level our government missions could be strengthened in many ways. Obviously Americans with protruding racial prejudices should not be sent abroad on government missions. Yet I have met more than one American official in Asia and Africa who at times has talked and acted not unlike the racist American stereotype regularly found in Russian propaganda.

The United States Information Service and its successor the United States Information Agency have done their best under difficult circumstances. They have attracted many capable, sometimes extraordinary, people who have devoted their time and talent with great dedication. But the necessity of pleasing the often unsympathetic and sometimes grossly misinformed Congressional audience on Capitol Hill is not always consistent with the effective use of our money abroad.

For this very reason it may be fair to say that the distorted picture of American life which has developed in many parts of the world has to some extent been created by ourselves. In our effort to create an image of a powerful, strong, prosperous and rich America, we have created envy and the spiteful, but human, hope that we may stub our mighty toe.

We have as yet found no satisfactory solution for the dilemma that grows out of the stream of sadistic and tawdry moving pictures and comic books which help to create a jaundiced, unrepresentative picture of America abroad. Opposed to government censorship on principle, we have hoped that sooner or later the film and publishing industries might set up their own effective self-policing. So far they have not done so.

Of course, in the long run the image we project abroad will never be better or more appealing than we are ourselves. Underlying the official and unofficial impressions we create are always the qualities we embody as a people, qualities nurtured and developed so largely by our educational system.

Yet today American education is probably our single most important domestic problem. No one pretends that our present system is adequate in either the quality or quantity of results. Not only are we vexed with the varying problems of juvenile delinquency, underpayment of teachers, and curriculums that often miss the heart of contemporary world problems, but we are wasting the talents of gifted American youth. Each year 200,000 superior high school graduates do not enter college, and an equal number after entering are unable to remain for financial reasons.

If these 400,000 promising young men and women each year were given the advantages of higher education, the result would be far more than to keep pace with Soviet technological competition, important as that is. For a sizable number of its citizens, America would be broadening the appreciation, outlooks and capacities required for dealing with the new dimensions of world affairs. A major expansion of educational facilities, improved curriculums and the adoption of more democratic policies for the admission of able youths to colleges are items that demand immediate priority ahead of the tidal wave of increased college applicants expected in 1956–60.

Related to the educational problem is a highly controversial aspect of the image we project to the world which should be brought into

the open light of public discussion. In the world-wide contest of ideas between Communism and democracy, it is unfortunate that we in America should be the most vulnerable target for Communist propaganda. One reason is that our spokesmen stick too stubbornly to outmoded terms of reference.

When we talk in terms reminiscent of a nonexistent nineteenth century free enterprise system that has little resemblance to the existing, pragmatic American economic approach, we feed the Communist propaganda mills which are constantly striving to stir up prejudice against a stereotype of capitalist imperialism. Much of our talk, designed by American politicians to coincide with an obsolete American economic folklore, fills in our image abroad exactly the way Moscow wants it filled.

This is a paradox. In this sense our economic terminology is often militantly doctrinaire and unappealing in the world ideological struggle. Yet as we have seen our national American economic practice has successfully sought a synthesis of economic justice which has prevented the growth of extremist Marxist movements in our society. While American businessmen sometimes talk in terms recognized everywhere else in the world as the language of an economic ideal which never existed even in the world of Adam Smith, they still sign long-term contracts with labor unions, complete with escalator clauses geared to the cost of living index, and they agree to approximations of the guaranteed annual wage.

Yet throughout the world people have come to know our terminology better than they know our practical justice. When, as in the case of TVA, they think they have found something magnificent to admire in American practice, they are shocked when they hear our leading spokesmen decry it as creeping socialism.

Such political lip service to imaginary bogies does us a lot of harm abroad. We can no longer afford the unbridled overstatements to which our political life has become accustomed. Let our political leaders instead learn to talk in forthright terms that reflect their justifiable pride in what both political parties have actually accomplished, and then all of us will have a better right to lament when we are not listened to.

A re-examination of our official information program convinces me that we have been far too preoccupied with the negative con-

cepts of anti-Communism. By now everyone knows that we are opposed to the Communists. People are waiting to hear more about our positive views on the great issues of our age.

Although many of our libraries abroad are effective, they could become more so if they would deliberately strive to become centers of positive studies of freedom in all its implications. By making available a wide and basic selection of foreign as well as American writings on all aspects of political and economic democracy, our libraries would vastly broaden their influence.

If we built our American information service around the four revolutionary principles which so largely motivate the people of the Middle World and which have emerged so repeatedly in this book—national independence, human dignity, economic advancement and peace—the effect would be heartening. People around the world are not so much interested in the glitter of America, but in how we have struggled persistently generation after generation to improve our democratic society, so that it may offer increasing opportunities to everyone, how our problems are related to their problems, and how our successes and our failures, too, are relevant to their own.

Let me suggest with the greatest emphasis that an effective information program is in no way related to selling laundry soap. Overstated, glib appeals not only fail in the long run, but they degrade us in the process.

When through ineptness or under pressure from thoughtless Congressmen, we indulge in empty claims or half truths, our own system of democratic discussion promptly exposes our exaggerations. The result is to convince uncommitted people—not all of whom by any means live in Asia, Africa and South America—that there is nothing to choose between the slanted appeals of Moscow and Washington, that neither is to be trusted.

Psychological warfare is a cynical phrase borrowed from Goebbels and Stalin. If we insist on employing it to describe our activities, we will continue to lose the respect of millions of people throughout the world who were brought up to believe that America is more than a clever gimmick or a cynical maneuver.

Our information should be honest, positive, and accurate. Dishonesty even in a good cause is still dishonesty, and it inevitably depreciates those who deal in it.

The information program of a totalitarian government enjoys the tactical advantage of operating without democratic criticism at home to show up its false claims. It thrives on the assumption that what people think are the facts is often just as important as what the facts really are. In many parts of the world the success of the Soviet peace campaign, symbolized so beguilingly by the Picasso peace doves, has been an immeasurable instance of this problem. Through much of the world it has been the popular impression during the last several years that the Soviet Union, not the United States, has been most insistent on halting the arms race. No impression could be more damaging to America's image abroad.

Disarmament: Pretense or Promise?

Since 1947, when the Soviet threat of aggression and subversion became fully evident to us, most Americans have assumed that its nature and dimensions were equally evident to others. This has led us seriously to underrate the effectiveness of Russian propaganda on peace and disarmament.

Despite our own uncertainty about Moscow's motives, Russian pretensions toward peace and disarmament are now widely accepted. Throughout the non-Communist world, among our allies as well as among the neutrals, a majority of people have clung stubbornly to the belief that peace between the United States and the Soviet Union is possible. It is unfortunate that remarks by some American military and political leaders have been widely considered by people abroad to be inconsistent with peaceful objectives. By his sincere and earnest statements at Geneva President Eisenhower helped to restore confidence in America's peaceful purposes.

Abroad the widespread conviction that peace is possible has developed from a complex of many pressures and emotions including the fear of nuclear destruction, grim memories of two world wars and foreign occupations, and man's deep inherent desire for peace and goodwill. It was nourished dramatically by the shift in Soviet attitudes that came into force in 1955.

In South Asia, Africa, and even in the United Kingdom in the winter of 1955, I discovered that America's early imaginative proposals for atomic energy control and disarmament are either unknown or forgotten. This constitutes a major failure of our information efforts since the war.

It is all the more difficult to explain because our case is an excellent one. Relying on the good faith of our wartime Russian ally, the United States promptly demobilized its armed forces after World War II. Less than a year after the discovery of the atomic bomb, we proposed that the United Nations develop an effective plan for the international control of atomic energy.

The same year, Bernard Baruch, United States delegate to the UN, presented our constructive and courageous plan for atomic energy control and development. With minor modifications this plan received the overwhelming endorsement of the General Assembly in 1948. In accepting it the Assembly expressly recognized that in the field of atomic energy control, as in the field of armament generally, paper promises to desist from manufacturing weapons were insufficient. The very heart of the problem lay in international inspection by UN teams to assure the world that promises once made were being kept.

In the following months the Soviet Union repeatedly stalled progress in both the UN Atomic Energy Commission and the UN Commission for Conventional Armaments, where proposals for general disarmament were being discussed. In the first commission the Soviet Union bluntly rejected the control features of the atomic energy plan. In the second it rejected with equal vehemence the proposals for a system of disclosure and verification of armaments generally.

In 1951 in an effort to end the deadlock, the United States joined with Britain and France in proposing a fresh approach to disarmament through a new commission which would consider both nuclear and conventional weapons. This commission was established by vote of the General Assembly.

In April, 1952, the American member proposed that the United Nations accept as its goal Franklin Roosevelt's interpretation of his phrase "freedom from fear" to include "a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any nation—anywhere in the world."

The American member proposed a series of "essential principles" which called for a step-by-step program of disarmament covering all categories of weapons including the atomic bomb. He warned against a "haggling process" and said that nations "must come to

rely for their strength, not on the number of battalions or weapons they have ready to unleash on a moment's notice, but on the health, happiness, and economic strength of their people."

A month later the American, French and British delegates spelled out their proposal for numerical ceilings on armed forces—a total of 1 million to 1.5 million each for Russia, China and the United States; 650,000 each for France and the United Kingdom, and between 150,000 and 200,000 each for all other countries. All of these proposals were first ridiculed and then rejected.

In the fall of 1954 the Soviet Union began to modify its position. In the political thaw which occurred in the following spring, Moscow suddenly seemed to concede some of the very positions which had long been advocated by the Atlantic nations and which Soviet spokesmen had repeatedly denounced. Much of the language in the 1955 Soviet proposal was lacking in precision; there were many possible escape clauses. Nevertheless the Soviet Union appeared willing to accept the ceilings on armed forces suggested by the Western Allies, a modified proposal for disarmament by stages, some kind of single control organ, and inspection at least of port and airfield facilities.

With this unbending of Soviet rigidity, it is more important than ever that the story of American efforts toward disarmament be reiterated effectively abroad. If, as many suspect, a real change in the Kremlin's attitude toward the problem has taken place, we must be prepared for serious discussion. The creation of the cabinet post of special assistant to the President on disarmament matters can be of invaluable aid in channeling, analyzing and dramatizing all aspects of the disarmament question.

For the first time in the long history of disarmament talk, there is a *possibility* that the leading armed powers may be able to agree on the initial steps in dismantling the elaborate structure of weapons of war. Hitherto, faced with an intransigent and inflexible Soviet policy on disarmament, the United States has been able to avoid the practical, political difficulties which a forthright attempt to disarm would involve. We have been serious in our disarmament proposals, but because of Russian intransigence we have not had to face the problems which the acceptance of these proposals might entail.

Now for the first time we must face those problems, and they revolve around four key questions going once more to the very root

of our attitudes on the whole disarmament question: Is disarmament still really in our interest? Would nuclear disarmament make us more safe or less safe than we are now, i.e., is it possible to work out a practical system of control? If the answer to these questions is affirmative, would such an agreement be politically feasible? Finally, what would be the consequences if we should fail to accept an apparently honest and workable proposal by the Soviet Union if it should be offered?

The very fact that we must ask ourselves whether disarmament is still in our national interest suggests that we have successfully become accustomed to living under total crisis for an extended period of time. So widely has the notion been accepted that the only basis for peace is a kind of balanced terror that we almost seem to forget how inconsistent "peace" and "terror" once seemed, and how utterly precarious our situation remains.

If peace is dependent on terror, we still are constantly at the mercy of terror and face risks of an order far more terrifying than previous generations ever faced. Since the war the ultimate decisions on the lives of millions of people have rested with a handful of world leaders. As nuclear military capacity becomes available to a widening group of nations, the dangers will even increase.

Any program of disarmament which could reduce these risks is not only emphatically in our national interest, but so important as to rate the constant and unremitting attention on the highest levels of government and the thoughtful concern of every citizen.

Hitherto all disarmament negotiations have stuck on the issue of enforcement. Have the prospects really improved for a practicable system of armament control? We may have to face the fact that no one in the near future is likely to produce a disarmament plan which is 100 per cent safe. Technical complexities themselves are numerous, and at least in the early stages, access to information essential to complete enforcement would require an overnight departure in long-standing political practices of some of the governments involved.

We may find that our first practical objective may have to be limited to an effective warning system designed to disclose any aggressive military buildup in advance and to prevent the kind of massive surprise attack which could be decisive in the first assault.

If mutual confidence grows as such a disclosure system begins to operate, the way will be eased for further steps. Quantitative con-

trols over conventional armaments might follow, linked to a reduction in nuclear strength. It is obvious that approaches to both nuclear and conventional disarmament must proceed simultaneously.

Conceivably we could move through five or ten years of experience with gradual stages of disarmament. The imperfections of initial agreements could merge into the improved enforcement of subsequent ones. Experience itself may prove to be essential to the building of the goodwill necessary to continue the process. In any event hopeful experimentation would be preferable to the unpredictable terror of the present.

What about the political feasibility of starting and continuing the disarmament process? Would even the initial agreements be politically practicable? Would they in treaty form win a two-thirds vote in the United States Senate? Would we trust an international inspection agency, containing a Russian inspector, at Oak Ridge or at any other spot it wished to check?

The affirmative reaction on the part of most Americans to President Eisenhower's proposals to the Russians at Geneva, calling for the exchange of blueprints of military establishments and for the aerial inspection of each other's defense facilities, suggests that public opinion may be willing to regard such proposals favorably.

In opposition to disarmament agreements will be the honest doubters and those who flatly oppose any limitation on our atomic weapons. There is another factor, not entirely objective and yet heavily involved: the formidable one that much of our national economy is now tied to our $30 billion defense budget. The jobs of hundreds of thousands of people are geared to production for defense. Should a major reduction in arms expenditure become possible, there is scarcely any large community in America which would not feel the economic effects of the change.

The transition to a gradually disarmed economy would be difficult, and imaginative and sympathetic leadership by both business and government would be essential in smoothing the adjustment. Unless the immense sums now allotted to war could be effectively transferred to productive, peacetime spending, the political impact would be great. Yet no nation which so desperately needs new schools, new roads, and new health programs as America should quail before the economic effects of disarmament.

Even without these possible obstacles, disarmament is a compli-

cated subject and it would be foolish to be more than cautiously optimistic about it. Nevertheless we have reached a point where the age-old assumption that disarmament is utopian has become an unacceptable counsel of despair. In the face of the decisive newness of our problems, people everywhere are demanding of their leaders nothing less than unparalleled effort to end war.

The major underlying basis of hope at Geneva was the mutual conviction on all sides that war has at last become an impossible instrument of policy. Vast differences in outlook and objectives were recognized, but there was an implicit assumption that serious as these differences were, war was no longer an acceptable solution for them.

This common assumption is itself a new dimension in world politics and it is of the utmost importance.

Among other things it means that policies smacking of negativism will no longer be tolerated by world opinion. Soviet proposals must be examined carefully, soberly, objectively, with the determination that if no solution can be found it will not be because we were lacking in either imagination or determination. The effects on our alliances, on the growth of neutralism, and on our foreign bases would be catastrophic if we should seem to rebuff sincere overtures toward disarmament made by others, or if we should otherwise fail to demonstrate our good faith. We must cautiously but honestly go ahead, not only responding to the proposals of others but actively offering our own, aware not only of the risks inevitably involved but also of the unmatched opportunities.

We may, as we have seen, find it necessary to begin with intermediate steps, but to be effective over the years disarmament must become drastic and comprehensive. It cannot succeed if its purpose is limited to the regulation of selected weapons. It must eventually encompass an end to war itself.

In his remarkable speech on January 20, 1955, before the American Legion Convention in Los Angeles, General Douglas MacArthur succinctly posed what is undoubtedly the central question of our age: "Must we live for generations under the killing punishment of accelerating preparedness," he asked, "for a war that would be suicidal," while we "trifle in the meantime" with such "palliatives as limitations of armaments and restrictions on the use of nuclear weapons?"

No less than the "abolishment of war" should be our objective, said the General. If it came, it "would mark the greatest advance in civilization since the Sermon on the Mount." He added that "the hundreds of billions of dollars now spent on mutual preparedness could abolish poverty from the face of the globe."

The present tensions with threats of national annihilation were, he felt, "kept alive by two great illusions." These were the beliefs of America on the one hand, and the Soviet on the other, that sooner or later its adversary intends to strike. He believed that "both are wrong. For either side war would mean nothing but disaster."

The problem was one of leadership, said MacArthur. "The great criticism we can make of the world's leaders is their lack of a plan. . . . When will some great figure in power," he asked, "have the imagination and courage to translate this universal wish for peace —which is rapidly becoming a necessity—into action?"

MacArthur stressed that "we are in a new era. Old methods no longer suffice. We must break out of the strait jacket of the past. There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness in concert with the great powers of the world to abolish war. The result might be magical."

Indeed it might.

* * *

IN the disarmament field, as in other areas previously mentioned, we have an opportunity, if we will use it, to strengthen the United Nations by giving it the powers of inspection and enforcement. No other organization exists embodying the aspirations of so much of the world. Its two major goals, set out in Article I of the United Nations Charter, deliberately held out hope for the solution of the two giant problems of War and Class:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace;
2. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

In numerous ways we have already suggested that the role of the UN can be critical in meeting these affirmative social and economic problems. If UN membership is increased, the inclusion of more nations of the underdeveloped world will focus attention even more on such problems. In its first decade of existence the UN has made valuable contributions to world peace in the political field: the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran, and British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon; the investigation of Greek border incidents; the handling of the Palestine conflict; the cease-fire in Indonesia; the participation in the Korean conflict and truce negotiations; and the negotiations on United States prisoners in China.

If the United Nations can now move affirmatively into the major field of disarmament control, its efforts could give it a new initiative far surpassing all its past accomplishments.

If it is to pursue such objectives, of course, the United Nations must be sufficiently broadly representative to be effective. Two divergent attitudes toward the UN have handicapped a decision on a score or more pending applications for membership which so far have been rejected. One attitude views the UN as a group of like-minded nations, whose primary objective is the safe-guarding of certain limited but agreed-upon political goals. This approach, which at times has been followed by both Russia and America, has tended to value the UN when it seemed helpful in the Cold War struggle, and to devalue it otherwise.

The other attitude views the UN as a forum whose chief future advantage could lie in its universality of membership, where the real problems on the world's agenda could be discussed and effectively dealt with. Perhaps in a period of decreasing tensions this more hopeful alternative may finally prevail.

CHAPTER 37

Rising with the Occasion

WE have seen in this book that the new dimensions of peace are many-sided. We cannot produce a peaceful world with nuclear weapons, essential as they are. Without ideas, faith and understanding, our dollars too are hopelessly inadequate. We can no more use them to purchase our salvation than we can exact salvation at bayonet point.

We cannot move from atomic stalemate to even the beginnings of peace, unless we reach an understanding with the masses of mankind. Man does not live by bread alone. He desires justice. He desires independence. He desires brotherhood.

As a part of our effort to understand, we must summon the imagination and the courage to look the essence of today's world revolution in the eye and confidently reclaim it as our own. It was born in Independence Hall in 1776, and we have no reason to apologize for it. Then as now it stood for liberation from every form of tyranny over the mind and body of man.

Can modern America in her period of wealth and maturity awaken what William James once called "our slumbering revolutionary instincts"? Have we the capacity to lead the world along paths of responsible change? Are we capable of initiating and maintaining so broad and imaginative a world policy? Can we summon the necessary leadership in Washington and the necessary public support in Jonesport, Torrington, Akron and Fort Worth?

We face this awesome challenge with many advantages. Among them is the staggering statistical tabulation of American produc-

cans and foreigners, sums up the ultimate measure of Amer-
ccomplishment and power.

if this were the full measure of America's strength, our so-
vithin the next generation could easily join Toynbee's list of
civilizations smashed on the rocks of history. To contempor-
servers the Assyrian, Roman and Napoleonic empires must
ıave appeared fully as omnipotent as the United States today.
modern America is far more than a composite of bombs, air
, steel mills and crowded four-lane highways. It is also the
ıation of a free people's struggle for four centuries to build
on that would enshrine the inalienable rights of life, liberty
ıe pursuit of happiness.

erican democracy has cheerfully accepted this perpetual chal-
and we can be proud of the result. Those of our families that
raw aristocratic mantles over themselves were born yesterday
ill disappear tomorrow. Any representative list of American
's would reveal that as likely as not they, or their fathers or
fathers, were farmers, frontiersmen, laborers or cabin boys,
made their mark in large part by the grace of application,
ity and personal ability.

have absorbed thirty million immigrants in the last century,
Americans today include literally every racial, religious and
ıal element in the world. "Fellow immigrants," Franklin
velt once said, as he began a speech to the Daughters of the
ican Revolution.

r persistent progress toward wider sharing of the fruits of our
ıction, and the successful use of political power to achieve this
ıg, testifies to honest growth toward economic democracy.

we desire comfort, we are still committed to the dignity of hard
. If our religious consciousness is often zealous, we have been
ly zealous in preserving the separation of church and state. Our
ıunity optimism has been grounded in our belief in progress
n our willingness to assume public responsibility. Our system
ıblic education is distinctly American and for the most part
iarly dedicated to the needs of a democratic citizenry.

easured by such standards our capacity as a free people should
ımense. Our generosity and sympathy, our dedication and hard
, our belief in freedom, human dignity and peace—all of these

appeal to those hundreds of millions of men throughout the world who want and believe these things too.

But it would be less than honest to deny that our society has developed some sobering weaknesses which in today's world might cost us dearly. It is important that these weaknesses and their implications should be carefully considered.

Although we were born in revolution and our numbers have been constantly refreshed from overseas, many of us have become cut off from the hopes and aspirations of a majority of the world's people.

Although we are one of the most literate nations on earth, scarcely one American in a hundred has more than a rudimentary knowledge of the history of Asia, Africa and South America, where the bulk of mankind lives and where the shape of the future may largely be decided.

Although no nation has given so generously to aid others, our public statements often make us appear calculating and selfish.

Although our nation was created out of our faith in the liberty and integrity of the individual, millions of people throughout the world have been led to believe that we are now pinning our faith on money, the military and moralizing.

Although two-thirds of the world's population is yellow or black, and our Declaration of Independence proclaimed 180 years ago that "all men are created equal," racial discrimination among us has not yet been abolished.

Although our standards of living are the highest in the world, some of our present prosperity is precariously based on Cold War defense programs.

Although in wartime we are willing to make almost any sacrifice, in the absence of actual shooting many of us appear unwilling to make the sacrifices through which war may be prevented.

Although Americans are basically a hopeful people, the nuclear conflict has sometimes pressed us into an unbecoming fatalism.

Although militantly democratic, under the guise of anti-Communism, we have tolerated practices in our national affairs which sometimes bear out the Oriental proverb that adversaries adopt each other's vices.

Although the roots of our country were firmly embedded in a profound respect for education and learning, we have been stampeded into panicky attitudes which have led many of our scholars

to become cautious and unimaginative, our liberties to be placed on the defensive before snoopers and censors, and the reputations of our great private foundations to be recklessly attacked.

This list of weaknesses amounts to a severe judgment against us. I do not wish to underestimate it, for that is the way the world judges us. Nor do I mean to imply in the argument of this book that there is an easy equation between the problems we faced in 1776 and the complexity of the world's problems today. Nevertheless I am deeply convinced that the American Revolution, refreshed and strengthened and for the first time focused on world affairs, can become a powerful political, social and economic force affecting the lives of every man, woman and child in the world.

In our efforts to bring this about, the quality of our convictions may prove to be crucial. Indeed, the degree of our commitment to the things we say we believe may make all the difference.

Our foreign audience, as we have seen, is somewhat skeptical. The word has got around that we have lost touch with our tradition. Consequently our rediscovery must be genuine. If it isn't, whatever attempts we make to sound like Jefferson and Lincoln will ring hollow, and all our protestations will appear like the badges of fraud. A fake return to the idealism of the American revolutionary tradition for tactical purposes only will surely fail.

The difference between asserting moral positions for the limited purposes of "psychological warfare," and living by them because they are the warp and woof of our national life, is precisely the difference between manipulation and genuineness, tactics and truth. Thus, the test of our sincerity will not be the frequency with which our revolutionary slogans resound in political speeches, television extravaganzas and broadcasts of the Voice of America, but our actual day-by-day performance on the issues which move mankind. This is one more reason why the life of the individual American citizen is now so inextricably involved in American foreign policy. His involvement can be as rewarding as it is challenging.

After all, the view of democracy implicit in our Declaration of Independence was a conception of human power capable of shaping events, the theory that a society's productive forces are realized only to the extent that every member, regardless of race or rank or creed or class, is free to make his distinctive contribution to the common good, and is equally responsible to common standards of social

decency. So viewed, democracy points the way to the unfolding of a vast future for us and the world.

The responsibility for putting democracy to work in this manner is not a diffused, mass affair. It rests squarely on the shoulders of each individual. To sustain our heritage of freedom of worship is a sacred obligation of Catholic, Protestant and Jew—and of those whose only faith is the cause of truth and brotherhood. These faiths all predispose us to broader understanding and better policies at home and abroad.

So does every opportunity we seize for the remedying of injustice and the co-operative building of a healthier and happier community. From the days of the Mayflower Compact and the pre-Revolutionary Sons of Liberty, America has had an unmatched tradition of voluntary group activity. We have been a nation of joiners, and let us hope that our urge toward constructive voluntary association never dies.

A labor movement that is not ashamed of the idealism in which it was born can take a more affirmative role in fighting for a democratic regeneration at home and abroad. Every group among us that has organized its efforts to better the lot of immigrants, Negroes, sharecroppers, slum dwellers or any other underprivileged group, can assert its faith in the dignity of the individual, not only in our own communities but across oceans, mountains and iron curtains.

Private American citizens have always been their country's best ambassadors. GI's distributing cigarettes or befriending orphan waifs have often been far truer representatives of American decency and generosity than some of our more conspicuous officeholders. The letters of American immigrants to their relatives abroad have given a far truer and more persuasive picture of American democracy at work than the most carefully prepared statements of many of our politicians.

The self-sacrifice of American missionaries, doctors and teachers who have thrown in their lot with depressed people all over the world and helped them in a thousand ways, has conveyed more of the spirit of America than the speeches of many Presidents.

These are the things that we have done before to reach past emperors and dictators to the hearts of their people. If a resurgent American tradition can again grip the consciousness of the Amer-

ican people, we will automatically begin to project a more convincing image abroad. It will be the image of a people free and at work, committed to compassion and tolerance because their faith in the infinite value of the individual protects the right of any individual to differ.

Of course totalitarian ideologies lend themselves to monolithic propaganda barrages in a manner we neither could nor would emulate. Communism is a doctrine in the hands of determined leaders backed by the instruments of national power.

Democracy by contrast is in a sense nonideological. It is marked by diversity, discussion and deference to minority opinion. Yet American democracy's greatest strength has always been its ability to provide a working consensus of common belief.

If the tone of our political parlance can be raised, our political leaders in both parties will themselves be contributing to that essential climate of public discussion where bipartisanship will be more than a slogan. Without surrendering their essential democratic right to ask hard questions, political leaders can, if they will, work together across party lines to create the flexible, dynamic policies which the world situation requires and which are impossible without the support of a sizable majority of the American people.

The greatest challenge of all is perhaps the challenge to the individual American to play an explicit and conscious role in the conduct of our foreign policy. Neither blind acquiescence in the need for a professional elite nor its opposite, the diffused concept of a continuing national town meeting, offers an answer to this pressing dilemma of modern democracy. The two extremes must be compromised. The people must be alert to demand qualified leadership, and then prepared to follow that leadership, loyally but critically, once they have it.

To do so involves maturity, political tolerance and a widening appreciation of the complexities of our relations with other peoples. But the individual American himself is at the heart of the matter and, for better or worse, his must be the final choice. Perhaps as he makes up his mind, he will place his own fear of Communism in a more realistic, affirmative context.

What the Kremlin itself must fear most is that we will break loose from the hypnotic grip that Communism has upon us, cease to think

largely in terms of negative response to it, realize the broad dimensions of our own great strength, and rally to the support of positive policies keyed to the needs and objectives of mankind.

If a sizable number of us will begin to live by the faith that we are our brother's keeper, we as a nation will begin to provide ourselves with purposes mighty enough to constitute the "moral equivalent of war." Once we begin in this way to solve the problems of Class and War on a world level, we will find as a by-product that we have achieved the only genuine containment of Communism possible.

A century that began with Lenin, Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi and Wilson was certain to be shaped by ideas. The struggle for the minds of men has now become sharp and clamorous. It is, I believe, the spirit of Lincoln that the world expects from us, and it is only by recapturing some of that spirit that we can successfully cope with the new world that is now taking shape.

On February 21, 1861, at Independence Hall, Lincoln summed up America's message: "All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn from the sentiments which originate in and were given to the world from this hall. . . . It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but the Declaration of Independence, which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

If we can recover some of Lincoln's democratic faith and apply it to the world, we will find that our own American Revolution in all its dynamic implications has come to life again, and we will see the people of Europe, Asia, Africa and South America reach out their hands to us in new confidence and in friendship. Then the danger of nuclear destruction may subside, and a stalemate achieved by terror slowly may merge into peace.

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